

#### Danzig

Dunkle Giebel / hohe Senfter / Türme tief aus Nebeln fehn / Bleiche Statuen wie Gefpenfter Lautlos an den Türen ftehn.

Träumerisch der Mond drauf scheinet, Dem die Stadt gar wohl gefällt / Als läg zauberhaft versteinet Drunten eine Märchenwelt.

Ringoher durch das tiefe Laufchen Uber alle Käuser weit / Mur des Meeres fernes Rauschen / Wunderbare Einsamkeit.

Und der Türmer wie vor Jahren Singet ein uraltes Lied: Wolle Gott den Schiffer wahren / Der bei Nacht vorüberzieht.

Joseph von Eichendorff



THE TOWER OF ST. MARY'S

# DANZIG

Edited by

Richard and Gifela Monnig

Danzig ist eine deutsche Stadt, und sie will zu Deutschland. Adolf Hitler, April 28, 1939

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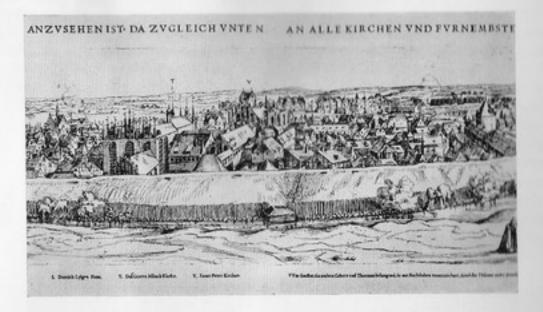
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CASTLE OF MARIENBURG NEAR DANZIG,
built in the 13th century by the Order of the Teutonic Knights. One of
the most beautiful of the Canterbury Tales still reminds every reader
of Chaucer of this historical fact.

EVERY GREAT NATION, however old, has gone through a long formative stage of development. If we could clear away the mold of ages of history around the roots of the nations, we not only would know more of their history but we probably would also perceive that there are certain primary characteristics which are roughly common to the formative period of every people. There is a parallel, not absolute, of course, but relative between the border history of medieval Germany and that of America. The German Pioneer faced the wolf and the Wend; he endured the isolation and sometimes the desolation of his settlements; he felled the forests; he drained the swamps; he built up a civilization—often, it is true, with crude instruments and with unskilled hands. But for his own time, for his own country, for his own people, he accomplished a work as large and as lasting as the formation of our own Ohio and Mississippi commonwealths has been for the United States.

What the New West meant to young America that the New East meant to medieval Germany. Each region beckoned the pioneer, the young and lusty of every generation, who sought for cheap lands and new freedom in the wilderness. What Jackson and Clay, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois meant to the history of the United States between 1815 and 1850, that Albrecht the Bear and Leopold of Babenberg, Brandenburg and Austria, meant to Germany in the twelfth century. When old, west, feudal Germany was falling into dissolution a new frontier, colonial Germany, arose in the east to counterbalance the loss. Without the adventure of knight errantry, without the romanticism of the Crusades, this history of the expansion of a great people has a simplicity and a dignity all its own. But for this splendid achievement Germany today would be a narrow strip of territory wedged in between the Rhine and the Elbe, and the German nation and Germanic culture would exist in the reduced dimension of a minor European state and people.

J. Westfall Thompson, from "Feudal Germany", Chicago 1928,



Official seal of the city of Danzig as attached to a document dated the 7th day of the ninth month A. D. 1299,



THE DANZIG MERCHANT GEORG GISZE

Painted 1532 by Hans Holbein in London where Gisze represented Danzig
at the Steelyard

#### Danzig and England

THE English visitor to this glorious medieval city-a stone of the first water in a German tiara of such jewels-naturally gravitates to the fine, high-gabled sixteenth-century building, still known as the English House, whose façade is richly carved. It served as the office and club in which British merchants of old transacted business with German, Dutch, and other traders, and today it counts amongst the greatest of the city's artistic treasures. At the beginning of the fourteenth century there was a colony of English merchants in Danzig, and later in the same century both traders and artisans from Scotland settled there. Tradition has it that Scottish linen weavers and tanners gave the name Alt-Schottland (Old Scotland) to a suburb of the city; subsequently a Neu-Schottland arose in the vicinity. Scots also did a thriving business as travelling packmen, and in consequence earned unpopularity with the settled tradesfolk. These hucksters gave rise to popular sayings which long retained currency, like "Wait till the Scot comes", and "On a Sunday when the Scot comes". In its war with the Polish king, Stephan Bathory, in 1577, Danzig had among its defenders seven hundred Scottish mercenaries under a Colonel William Stuart and other officers, several of whom were buried in the Marienkirche.

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With the conclusion of Danzig's commercial treaty with Queen Anne in 1706 and the union of England and Scotland in the following year, wider commercial and civic privileges were granted to the British settlers, many of whom made Danzig their permanent home, their families becoming, in course of time, assimilated with the German population. That some enjoyed in a high degree the respect and confidence of the community is proved by the fact that from the 17th century forward English and Scottish names occur freely in the city's Burgess Book and on tombs and monuments in St. Mary's and other old churches. The colony appears to have retained importance until late in last century.

There were also early intellectual contacts between England and Danzig, for in the late 16th and the following century the "English players", known in Germany as the "Englische Komödianten", since their repertory was largely confined to the comedies of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, visited Danzig in the course of their tours in Northern Europe.

The archives of the city abound in diplomatic letters from English sovereigns of long-past centuries, besides others equally old relating to

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Letter in Latin, addressed by Queen Elisabeth of England to her "most loyal friends", the Senate of the Free City of Danzig (1600).

the business affairs of English subjects. The earliest of them, dated 1394, is of the latter kind, and tells how three unnamed English knights (Ritter) borrowed money from the public treasury of Danzig and engaged to repay it at the "Stahlhof" or Steelyard in London. There is a petition, 10 feet long, in which the Hanseatics recount to Henry VI the violation of their trading rights and privileges between 1408 and 1447. Another contemporary document shows that Danzig supplied Henry VIII with timber for the ships which later fought the Spanish Armada. There is a letter of 1577 from Queen Elizabeth to the mayor, signifying her readiness to use her influence with the Hansa in a certain dispute. James I in a letter of 1611 to the same signs himself "vester amicus amantissimus", but his son, Charles I, writing in 1642, adopts the more reserved style of "amicus vester"; while Charles II writes in 1661 notifying that he has freed Danzig from the operation of the Navigation Act, "in testimonium amicitiae nostrae."

Between the two Charles came Cromwell, of whom two letters are preserved, one dated February 1, 1655/6, written in a firm, bold hand, and the other dated April 10,1656/7,

decidedly uncertain and shaky (he died September 3, 1658). In 1688 William of Orange duly notified his accession to Danzig. It appears that in 1713 the Royal Society of England sent Edmund Halley to Danzig, to inspect the great telescope of Johannes Helvelke (Hevelius), who lived from 1611 to 1687, and was a brewer as well as an astronomer.

What gives special historical value to most of these royal letters is the fact that they were addressed to Danzig in virtue of its sovereign status. It is true that in 1454, owing to the decay of the Teutonic Order and consequent inability to hold its own alone against Poland, Danzig placed itself under the king of that country, Casimir IV-it had been a choice between Poland and Denmark - but, as has been explained, the relation was that of "personal union". Never did the city become part of the Polish State, or lose its political independence. Its position can perhaps be best visualized in our day as a sort of wider Dominion status as interpreted by the Imperial Conference of 1926, for Poland had as little right to interfere in the internal affairs of Danzig as Great Britain in those of Ireland or Canada today. Indeed, Danzig's independence was greater, since it extended also to foreign affairs. The City State maintained relations with European Courts on equal terms; it accredited diplomatic agents to them and received envoys in return; it had its own coinage, customs system, flag, and even army and navy; it made wars and concluded alliances; and on critical occasions the most powerful States rated high its co-operation in arms, or failing that even its pledge of neutrality.

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Letteraddressed by Oliver Cromwell in 1657 to his "dearest friends" the Senate of the Free City of Danzig, asking "for the sake of the long standing friendship between the people of Danzig and the English people" for the release of a Swedish military chieftain.

From this standpoint the treaties and other contracts concluded with Poland which are still preserved in the city archives, all of them written in either German or Latin, have a unique importance. Thus a document of 1454 attests the fact that before the city recognized a Polish ruler as protector it required and received his promise to respect all its traditional rights and privileges. In a document of 1457 the citizens are solemnly confirmed in the absolute use and control of their harbour, which might not be entered by Polish warships without permission. A document of 1583 records the conclusion of peace with the Poles, and in yet another King Stephen Bathory formally renounces any claim to exercise sovereignty over either the harbour of Danzig or the Baltic Sea, or yet to have ships of war in the harbour, a right which the new Polish State has unsuccessfully tried to establish. It appears that at the close of the 18th century Danzig had a militia numbering 3.000 men, and that General Pappenheim — presumably a descendant of the Pappenheim of Schiller's Wallenstein dramas — graciously offered to act as its commandant.

William H. Dawson, from "Germany under the Treaty", London 1933.



Danzig Burgher 1740



On the way to the Heiligengeist Street. Engraving by D. Chodowiecki.

#### Childhood Becollections

Johanna Schopenhauer, the great German philosopher's mother, was born in Danzig in 1766. The following reminiscences of the days of her childhood are extracts from her diary which was first published in 1839 and re-edited in Danzig in 1929. The two engravings by her famous contemporary Daniel Chodowiecki, a citizen of Danzig, are selected from the diary which he kept in 1773.

On the south side of the *Heiligengeist* Street stands the house in which I was born, not far from the City gate leading to the *Lange Brücke* (long bridge). Over the gate are the rooms in which the local Society of Natural History held their meetings and housed their collections.

The Lange Brücke is really not a bridge but a wooden quay. On the land side it is flanked by houses, booths and stalls in which flowers, fruit, and sweets, and all those things are displayed for sale which delight the heart of a child. Between this quay and the Speicherinsel (Granaries' Island), lying opposite, the broad river Mottlau, crowded with shipping, flows silently and gently into the mighty river Vistula until the two merge into one in their course to the sea.

The house of my parents was one of those houses which are a common enough sight in Danzig. It had a frontage of three windows, was neither



Harbour with Crane Gate (Krantor) built 1443. Engraving by J. Schuster (1770) from a drawing by F. Lohrmann.

beautiful nor ugly, neither large nor small; its interior was in no way different from that of other houses of the same size. For our family it was quite comfortable, and spacious enough.

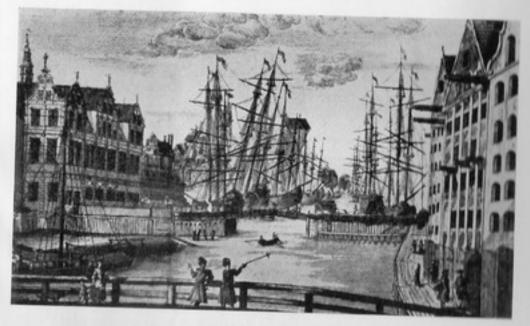
No lyre adorned with shining stars distinguished the roof of our house. Other houses had, indeed, ornamental gods and goddesses, angels, vases, eagles, horses, and other prancing animals which peered down from the house tops. The only distinguishing mark our house could boast of was a large brass turtle fastened to the highest gabled pinnacle where the animal appeared to be swimming on its belly; when there was a breeze on it made a great fuss, kicking about freely, floundering lustily and nodding in all directions of the compass with its gilded claws and head,

To the left of our house stood the English church and to the right an inn. I trust that nobody will be reminded of the old saying that the Devil sets up a chapel of his own, will say a public house, next to every church. The so-called English church was really nothing but a tiny though very neat chapel called a "church" by courtesy only. Nor could the near-by ancient, rusty brown Hall of the shipowners' guild which was four times as big as the church have been the happy hunting ground of the Devil, although it looked like an enchanted castle, considering that its inhabitants were quite respectable people.

In those days all the trades were organised in guilds and corporations each of which used to have its own hall or house where masters and journeymen assembled for the purpose of discussing and protecting their ancient privileges, laws, and customs, and riotous banquets were held on the festive carnival days preceding Lent when everybody had a good time.

The name of the Hall implied already that it was owned by the Danzig guild of shipowners which was held in high esteem at that time on account of its great importance and far reaching influence. Here the seafaring profession gathered in their time honoured council chambers to consult on matters of trade or to dine and wine in merry company. On those happy occasions large white flags with the Danzig coat-of-arms depicted thereon used to hang down from the windows, balconies, and stoops in addition to gay-coloured pennants and emblems announcing to the neighbourhood that some special festival was being held with the rites and rejoicings due to it.

When I was barely three years old I was sent, twice a day, for a couple of hours in the morning and afternoon to a school which was scarcely two hundred paces from the house of my parents. I distinctly remember the dark schoolroom with its wainscoted walls of black oak, where we spent so many happy hours of our childhood, and the broad window composed of more than a hundred small round panes set in lead. Within the projecting window space a very old lady with snow white hair used to sit



Mottlau Harbour, Copper plate by Matthaeus Deisch (1765) from a drawing by F. Lohrmann,



"... in Danzig he visited our school room ..."

Engraving by D. Chodowiecki

in a comfortable, spacious chair, clad in a strange but neat and simple style.

Age had dimmed her eyes but had not been able to quench her spirits. She spoke but very little German. She was French by birth and as a Huguenot had been forced to flee from her native country. She retained, however, the dress, language, and customs of a French citizen. Her age and feebleness prevented her from assisting her daughters, who, too, were advanced in years, in the management of the school although she was very fond of children.

She had picked me out as her favourite. I was permitted to seek refuge at her knees whenever the din of the wild boys' battles became too much for me. Then she made me sit on her lap and began to recite to me all sorts of easy French words and phrases. I repeated them like a parrot, much to her delight, and finally learned to understand and spell them.

In the history of modern art the name of this lady will always be remembered for she was the mother of Daniel Chodowiecki.

During a visit Chodowiecki paid to his mother and sisters in Danzig he visited our school room. In great wonderment I watched the strange man moving a small table back and forth until it stood the right way. While he was doing this his sisters, who were our teachers, flew up and down the aisles in great commotion promising us lots of gingerbred, raisins and almonds if we would only keep quiet for an hour.

The strange man sat down at his table, placed a sheet of paper in front of him, unpacked pencils and other utensils, looked at us, wrote something on the paper, as it appeared to me, looked at us again, and so on. Soon I could restrain myself no longer. I forgot raisins, almonds, gingerbread, and everything else; softly, like a kitten, I crept up to him where he sat and looked at him so imploringly that he did not have the heart to turn me away. With a friendly acquiescent nodding of the head he allowed me to stand beside him and watch what he was doing. And now I saw to my amazement how on the small white sheet of paper in front of him the whole school room began to take shape before my eyes. The sight of it nearly took my breath away. When the artist had finished the drawing he took another sheet, ordered me to stand up in front of him and started drawing without my being able to see what he was doing. After a while he handed me the sheet and told me to give it to my mother with his compliments. And there, on that white sheet of paper, stood my whole little person en miniature, from my bewildered little head down to my turned-in feet. For sheer joy I nearly burst into tears. . . .

Johanna Schopenhauer

### Arthur Schopenhauer

"FeW, indeed, we venture to assert, will be those of our English readers who are familiar with the name of Arthur Schopenhauer." — With these words begins the first English review of Arthur Schopenhauer's works in "The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review" of April 1, 1853. — "Fewer still will there be who are aware that the mysterious being owning that name has been working for something like forty years to subvert that whole system of German philosophy which has been raised by the university professors since the decease of Immanuel Kant, and that, after his long labour, he has just succeeded in making himself heard—wonderfully illustrating that doctrine in acoustics which shows how long an interval may elapse between the discharge of the cannon and the hearing of the report. And even still fewer will there be who are aware that Arthur Schopenhauer is one of the most ingenious and readable authors in the world, skilful in the art of theory building, universal in

attainments, inexhaustible in the power of illustration, terribly logical and unflinching in the pursuit of consequences, and a most amusing qualification to every one but the persons 'hit'—a formidable hitter of adversaries."

As we do not want to go into the details of Schopenhauer's philosophy, we may just quote a few sentences on his Italian journey from the English Biography which Helen Zimmern edited in London 1876. A new edition of her work was published by Allen and Unwin, London 1932.

"Schopenhauer's longest stay in 1818 was in Venice. At the time Byron was there also, chained to the enchanted city by female charms. It is strange that they never met. Schopenhauer had the greatest admiration for Byron's genius, and temperamentally they should have agreed. At Naples Schopenhauer associated chiefly with young Englishmen. All his life the English had a special attraction for him, he regarded them as being almost the greatest people in the world, and believed that only prejudices hindered them from actually being so. His accent and his knowledge of the language were so perfect that even Englishmen would sometimes mistake him for one of themselves, an error that always elated him. His personal appearance must at this time have been remarkable; but his real beauty was that of the soul, not merely of the face. Even in his old age his eyes flashed fire, and in youth their keen, clear blue lighted up his massive head."

"On one occasion an old gentleman, a perfect stranger, addressed him in the street, saying he would be a great man some day. An Italian stranger also told him: 'Signore, lei deve avere fatto qualche grande opera: non so cosa sia, ma lo vedo al suo viso'; while a Frenchman who sat opposite to him at a table-d'hôte suddenly exclaimed: 'Je voudrais savoir ce qu'il pense de nous autres, nous devons paraître bien petits à ses yeux'; and a young Englishman flatly refused all entreaties to take another place, saying: 'No, I'll sit here; like to see his intellectual face'. In repose he resembled Beethoven. Both had the same square head, but Schopenhauer's must have been the larger, as is proved by a cast taken after death which shows its unusual size."



ARTHUR SCHOPENHAUER

Born at Danzig in 1788, at the age of thirty,
from the painting by Sigismund Rühl.

#### An Architect's Impression

THE painter and etcher Johann Carl Schultz of Danzig who was a friend of Schinkel, the famous Berlin architect, writes about the days of August 20 to 25, 1834, which the two spent together:

"I can not adequately describe Schinkel's joy and pleasure on our excursions together. In our streets at that time there were rows of stoops, as far as the eye could see, with their fine, diverse stone figures, with their hand wrought iron work, with their shining brass door knobs and knockers, with their ornate balustrades, portals, and house façades as integral parts of the whole. In the street Schinkel often stood still as if charmed and took in the whole scene. His usual refrain was: "Good Heavens, why don't you paint that?"

As you know I carried out his wishes in my etchings, and in this tedious laborious work the joy and pleasure which Schinkel experienced in our edifices was the elixir which refreshed me and encouraged me to bring the work to a finish. Its real purpose to enhance the knowledge of the value of these stoops and encourage their preservation has been imperfectly fulfilled.

The total impression of the interior of the Dominican church filled Schinkel with surprise. I remarked that the thought of painting the baroque forms of the altars and ornamentations of this interior was repugnant to me. Schinkel replied: "A baroque edifice can be treated in a more ingenious and interesting way than any other edifice in a purer style. Besides, a painting does not prescribe how one should build; of what interest is the architectural style to the painter."

Looking at the towers of Danzig and at the horizon from the inner and outer ramparts, Schinkel said: "One has to take the centre for foreground, beginning the painting with the latter, then it will be first rate."

In taking a view from the Carlsberg of Oliva, the episcopal park, the sea-coast and the broad sea, Schinkel stood there for a long time in silence, musing and absorbing the picture. Finally he asked: "Why don't you paint that?" I replied that the long lines of cropped hedges had a very disturbing effect. Schinkel: "Oh, they do not bother me, neither in reality, nor would they in the painting. Such a cropped avenue of trees makes an excellent go-between from the stone architecture to the English park or to the open country as is the case here."



TYPICAL GABLED HOUSES IN THE LANGGASSE, showing the Beischläge, a sort of ornamental raised open-air landing with seats. Engraving by Johann Carl Schultz of Danzig, 1834.



Une cité alors était une vraie patrie Taine

#### Dangig Past and Present

IT is sixty-five years, or two thirds of a century ago. After the glorious times of stress and peril that lasted for five hundred years Danzig with its 100,000 inhabitants had barely attained the status of a large town and was passing through a period of unbroken stagnation from which it was to rise again only during the next generation. Trade and industry had not recovered yet from the tribulations of the Napoléonic era. The merchants were aggrieved on account of poor business conditions following upon the ever increasing alienation of the Polish market by the customs policy of the Russian Government which was quite unscrupulous in devising means to that end. The north-southerly trade route which was marked out for Danzig by the course of the Vistula,

and which had conditioned the development of its past history, was most seriously affected by the political evolution during the last two generations and, in fact, nearly cut off. On the other hand, the large-scale development of the Prussian eastern provinces which was to follow within the next decades, especially by means of railroads, which might be described as dominating the west-easterly traffic route, had scarcely as yet begun. In the course of its political ups and downs Danzig had reached the point of its deepest depression. In any case it was not so very long ago that that period had come to an end.

Seen in today's perspective, such was Danzig's position in the days when I first set foot upon its soil. For a young rustic such as myself, it was, naturally enough, a completely dazzling experience to gaze at those tall, quaintly gabled houses, to look down those crossing and intersecting narrow streets which seemed to come from, and run to nowhere, losing themselves entirely in a confused tangle of lanes and alley-ways, not to

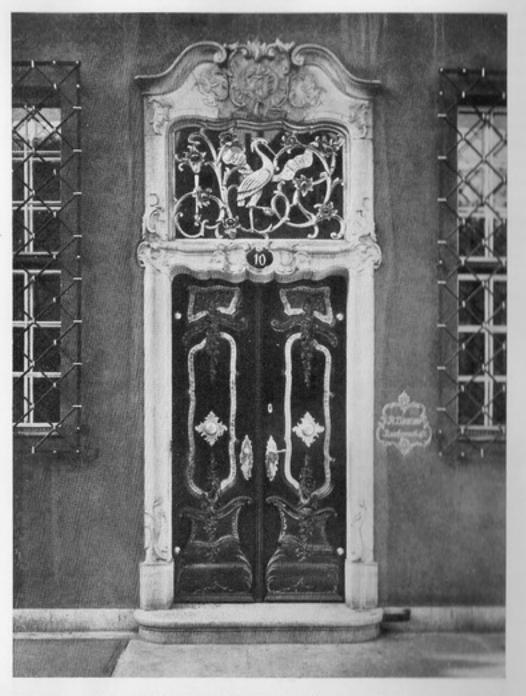


". . . crooked lanes through which I was wandering . . ."

mention the throng of people and vehicles which crowded them. Of what I had picked up from the occasional conversations of grownups, enough had happened to stick in my mind to remind me that this place, this city of Danzig with its narrow, crooked lanes through which I was wandering in charge of my mother, was very ancient; that it had actually existed in the remote ages of antiquity and that great and memorable events had occurred in it. In this mental condition I was looking around in an inquisitive, feverish state of mind, in high-wrought expectation, fully awaiting that at any moment something wonderful, something unheard of, might occur which, unfortunately, it did not. Though this was a great disappointment to me, the historical trend of mind which had so far been dormant in me was now, at all events, roused and tried to make the best of the occasion. In my imagination men and women of passed ages, such as I had seen depicted in history books, walked across the scene. Though they had died ages ago, they now shaped themselves into distinct mental images walking, as it were in the body, through these lanes, promenading up and down these water courses and canals, leaving these imposing red brickchurches, and standing guard over their cannon on the grass-grown ramparts.

Even the Danzig of our time belongs now as ever to the great number of most ancient and most reliable witnesses of German history. Even today, to this very hour, its old streets and squares, its fountains and gates, its gables, bay-windows and raised terraces in front of the street doors display the lavish and grotesque style of the baroque period, to exactly the same degree as any of the kindred Dutch towns at the other end of Europe. You can easily imagine how much more this was the case in the days of my childhood when high, wooded ramparts, deep, blackish moats, and a whole system of fortifications built of stone and mortar encircled the ancient martial city with an armour of proof. It was, in fact, the spirit of passed centuries which haunted the place in broad daylight, not to speak of pallid moonlight-nights, and of deep, pathless snow in winter, which seemed to convey a certain characteristic to the inhabitants, this hardy, sober, shrewd, sceptical race which, in spite of everything, have a strange baroque strain and a robust tendency to enjoy all the good things of life.

It is not a mere coincidence that the English actors who soon after Shakespeare's death introduced his and his contemporaries' plays into Germany, should have been able to secure a footing at so early a period in Danzig. Witticism, jests, jokes and archness have always been in



One of the many beautifully carved street doors on the Lange Marki

the line of the Danzig people. Even Puritanism following in the wake of the Reformation did not succeed in depriving these cheerful folk of the faculty to enjoy the traditional carnival plays and masquerades. To make merry was inherent in their blood. Even to this day the Langgasse and the Lange Markt which one might describe as Danzig's forecourt reflect a festive spirit; festive is the character of all the old patrician houses with their broad flights of stairs and handrails bearing elaborate ornamentations in wrought iron work and stone, their roomy terraces in front of the street doors, their lobbies, glass-roofed inner courts, and state apartments. No one who visits the Uphagenhaus will come away unimpressed by the grace and cheerfulness of the whole scheme. Again and



"No one who visits the Uphagen house will come away unimpressed -



- by the grace and cheerfulness of the whole scheme"

again when visiting Danzig, I am deeply impressed, just as in the days of my childhood, with the tingling sensation of the strange atmosphere pervading this city and its lanes grown gray with age. There exists a report by an observant foreign traveller on Danzig in the baroque period. The French Legation secretary M. Charles Ogier had come to Danzig in 1635, delegated by Cardinal Richelieu to attend the Swedish-Polish peace negotiations. What he has to say in his Latin book regarding his stay at Danzig and his impressions of the city reads in the essentials exactly as if it were written to-day, so little has the outer appearance of the city changed in spite of all modern alterations. The imposing export trade of the city startled the Frenchman; grain, timber, leather,

amber and many other kinds of goods were being exported. He was struck by the great number of fine fountains which were to be seen everywhere, in the streets and squares as well as in the courtyards of private residences. Striking and strange to him were the terraces in front of the street doors, accessible by a flight of stairs, with their floors of polished stone. The street doors were beautifully carved and displayed emblems and mottoes carved upon them. On entering these patrician residences one came into a lobby decorated with stucco facings, pictures and carvings, p anelled ceilings, chandeliers, and the heads of stags. It led into a hall of exceptional dimensions. On the Lange Markt stood the Artushof, with its fine collection of medieval pictures and choice woodcarvings, among them the sculptured figures of the archangel Michael, of St. Christopher, and St. Sebastian; also of Mercury, Bacchus, and Diana with her nymphs. "Had Ariostus ever paid a visit to Prussia I would be prepared to take it for granted that the design of this temple was his work," said the enthusiastic Frenchman.

In the days of my childhood Langfuhr and Oliva, to-day suburbs of Danzig, were villages situated far outside the gates of the city and not easily accessible to the tourist.



Wooded, hilly country near Danzig



Typical half-timbered Farm House

On the eve of St. John's the festival of the summer solstice was held in Langfuhr according to ancient Danzig custom. Young and old proceeded to Jäschkental, a pretty wooded valley outside the gates of the city, making a charming setting for the green playing field on which the festival took place. It is a well known fact that the beauty of Danzig's old buildings, the charm of its churches, gates, and lanes gray with age, is almost surpassed by the beauty of its surroundings and the abundance of attractions offered by the amenities of the landscape. From west and north, the beech clad crests and eminences of the Ural-Baltic ridge stretch down to within a few miles of the fine crescent of the blue Baltic's coast line. The imposing Vistula river and its tributary, the Mottlau, the waters of which form the actual harbour for sea-going vessels, separate the area on which Danzig stands on the north and east from the low country which reminds one of the Netherlands, In a rare combination, woods, hilly country, lowlands, and the sea encircle the ancient city with its many spires and towers. Looking upon the scene from one of the hights to the west that dominate the city, from the Bischofsberg or the Hagelsberg, for instance, once impregnable strongholds in the system of fortifications round the city, it is almost directly

behind the roofs of the town and the masts which rise into the air from the ships in the harbour that the deep blue stretch of the Baltic appears. Thuringia is next door to Holland — in its variety and contrariness an almost improbable composition such as is only rarely to be found in the late medieval landscapes of the old German masters, in this instance, however, done by the hand of Nature itself.

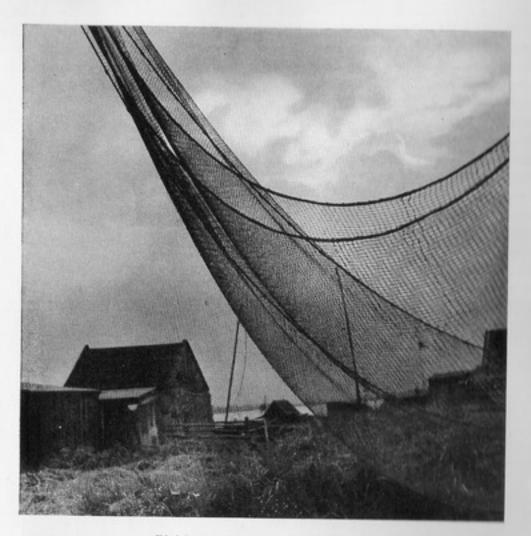
For some distance the coast line is accompanied by a range of wooded hills, and these hills are the landmark which reminds us of Thuringia. Many ravines and valleys intersect this range and give life to just as many brooks and small water courses which fall into the sea. Jäschkental near Langfuhr, too, is one of those opening valleys which run from the range of hills down to the sea. This is the locality where in the days of my childhood and back to the times of Eberhard and Konstantin Ferber (about the year 1520) the above mentioned festival of the summer solstice was celebrated by a merry company in which all ages, all ranks and conditions of the inhabitants of the city took part. All the time honoured popular amusements, frolics, pranks, games, and sports were held on the green playing field under the old trees that surrounded it. Thousands came out from the city to watch the fun and the mirth and join in it. And when the glowing orb of the midsummer sun was slowly setting behind the tree clad hills to the west, the first Mid-Summer Night's fires began to flare up like torches in the summer night. And every time I see the curtain rise on the scene of the Meistersingers' mead near Nürn-



"Fish you can buy any way you like . . ."

berg, my mind turns back to that time honoured festival of the summer solstice at Jäschkental.

Great changes accompanied by great achievements
and great events have taken
place, since I visited Zoppot
and its beach for the first
time, more than sixty years
ago. With its numerous
fishermen's huts, those tiny
dwellings consisting of a
groundfloor only—from the
street one stepped immediately into the living room
—with fishing-nets hung out



Fishing-nets hung out everywhere

everywhere, it reminded me very vividly of the ramshakle fishing-village such as Zoppot was only a short while ago. I shall never forget the feeling when, immediately on leaving the train, the salty sea breeze filled my lungs and my mind with a happy presentiment of the wonders of the seaside. Already on approaching the coast I had been observing with emotion how behind the brilliant white of the beach the immense range of the wonderful blue of the sea extended rising and widening into an immense purplish blue dome on the horizon. A boundless longing filled my youthful mind, but—then—my feet trod the white sand of the beach, silvery wavelets were rolling up and wetting my shoes, a never ending, unremitting rippling, swishing, and foaming seemed to go on across the white sands. But through the soft whispering

and hushed murmuring of the wide range of the opalescent waters it seemed to me that I could hear, mighty and undisturbed and strong, the breathing of the sea. And that small white cloud on the horizon, was it the sail of a boat nearing the coast from an unknown port, or was it the first sign of a coming storm that would soon stir the quiet sea to a wildly seething, threatening mass of water? Over there, amidst the waste of waters, on Hela's far stretching, narrow chain of downs, a few red tiled roofs stood out brightly under the rays of the setting sun, for a short moment only—then the whole world sank back gray and dead, as if extinguished for ever. From Fahrwasser, where the Vistula falls into the sea, the intermittent flash of the lighthouse was wandering ghost-like over the slumbering sea.

Max Halbe.





#### Danzig

—a city of immense churches, of highly decorative towers and pinnacles, of houses with low stone porches and ornamental balustrades, of a simple and unaffected manner.—

The Mottlau flows in two branches through the heart of Danzig and if, today, you stand on any one of the several bridges which span this double waterway, you may easily visualize the ancient commercial glory of the city. Lining these busy arteries of water-borne traffic are huge, gabled warehouses, grain elevators and other structures that serve the carrying trade of the port, all of them patriarchs of their calling. Paralleling one side of the stream runs a stone quay entirely given over to goods and pedestrians. On one hand lies the river like a narrow arm of the sea, on the other a solid row of buildings which leap the intersecting streets on archways, so that every thoroughfare terminating at the river ends



Festive gabled Patrician Houses in the Lange Markt

Along this footway are shops and ship's chandlers and lodging houses where the seafaring folk are served. An occasional defense tower of masonry asserts itself. Most conspicuous of all, midway on the walk, is the Crane Tower, a gigantic old gabled warehouse which projects over the walk in such a way that its crane can be dropped into boats moored alongside the quay. At the end of this waterside street is held the daily market which, in the morning hours, is thronged with buyers. The boats of the market folk are moored at the quayside and on them, and on the pavement adjoining, stalls are crected and men and women, behind baskets of provender, cater to the needs of the purchasers. Everything of an edible nature is sold. Fish, naturally, constitute the reigning commodity and you can buy them any way you like, fresh, salted, or on the hoof, so to speak, for in tanks of water there are live fish, squirming cels, and tiny crustaceans which are offered by the handful. Meat, vegetables, fruit,

live chickens, are spread over the narrow street, allowing none too much room for the townspeople, encumbered with their market baskets, who saunter along jostling and being jostled, buying, chattering and bargaining, always apparently getting their money's worth. The placid Mottlau is an active shipping thoroughfare. Steamers are tied up under the warehouses, moored in the stream or swung alongside the quay. Among the boats are tramp steamers, merchantmen, sailing vessels and passenger boats in from the Baltic by way of the broad Vistula and the narrow Mottlau. With its deep-water basin in the heart of the city, convenient of access to the sea, yet sheltered from storms and preying enemies and endowed with enterprising merchants, it is small wonder that, in earlier days, Danzig was an important link in the chain of coastal metropoli.

Leaving the river through the archways, you enter the residential streets of former centuries in which the merchantprinces and patrician families had their homes. The soaring, gabled houses lining these quiet ways are unlike the houses of any other city. Their characteristic features



The ornamental Staircase ascending to the Rathaus Portal

are the Beischläge, richly fashioned stone steps and landings or "stoops" where the occupants enjoyed the open air in the cool of the summer evenings. These stone porches, which thrust themselves irregularly into the cobble paved streets devoid of sidewalks, possess wrought-iron balustrades terminating in huge spheres of granite, carved stone pediments and sometimes gargoyles. Only a few streets of these houses remain but they are redolent of the golden days of the city and are sufficient to carry you back in imagination to Hanseatic times. There is little color, however, except the pigment of rich gabled facade and decorative landing.

The great, gaunt churches of mellow old brick and the secular buildings bearing the patina of age are equally a part of Danzig's engaging personality. Soaring above the surrounding rooftops, their towers and pinnacles fuse into a medley of blending harmony. Of these edifices the most dominating is St. Mary's Church which raises its massive shoulders to such incredible heights that it is visible from the distant parts of the town. Standing under its walls and looking up at its immense cathedrallike vaulting you marvel at the magnificent conception of the ancient builders. Founded in 1343 and enlarged in the following century, during which Danzig reached the peak of its prosperity, it is a striking example of the Gothic Hallenkirche, the most eminent, indeed, in the Baltic provinces. Its exterior of brick is simple, unadorned and almost brutal in its severity, but its massive tower, rising nearly two hundred and fifty feet in the air, and its ten slender turrets surmounting the gables, transform it into a thing of beauty. The interior of St. Mary's contains many treasures from early times but none so notable as Memling's "Last Judgment." A large altarpiece with wings, this magnificent painting came to Danzig unexpectedly as a spoil of war; it was intercepted on its way from Sluys to England in 1473 during the Wars of the Roses. Sent on a Florentine galley as a gift to the Medici in Italy by Angelo Tanti, their agent at Bruges, it was captured by the "Peter of Danzig", which went out with letters of marque, and carried by it to the northern metropolis. This was not to be the last adventure of Memling's masterpiece, for, when Danzig was taken by the French during the Napoléonic Wars, it was seized and sent off to Paris in 1807, only to be returned in 1815. If you have the energy to mount the tower of this church, which has as many steps as there are days in the year, you will be rewarded by a view of the town and the broad plain of the Vistula otherwise possible only from an aeroplane.

The historic Rathaus, begun in 1379, is another building which contributes generously to the richness of Danzig's skyline. Situated on what



"The tremendous pile of the Marienkirche glowers above turrets and roofs"

is still the principal thoroughfare of the city, its slender tower, graced by corner turrets and a delicate spire soaring nearly three hundred feet above its surroundings, can be seen throughout the length of the street. The flaunting splendor of its height was in keeping with the ascending power of the city and it was with a great sense of pride that the ambitious burghers of the day erected it as a symbol of their commercial supremacy.

Across the Lange Markt from the Rathaus we discovered a dealer in old maps. Attracted by a venerable specimen in the window of the art shop, we found within a splendid collection of early maps torn from old monastic volumes and drawn from the archives of geographical libraries -maps of Europe, Asia and America. It seemed strange to find rare maps of the new world in this remote municipality, yet there was a singular appropriateness in finding them in such an ancient trading centre-maps with strange imaginative portrayals of the far American and Canadian wests, the boundaries of which, being at the time of publication undiscovered lands, trailed away into terra incognita; maps of the early American colonies and territories in the centre and far west out of all proportion to their now known size; sixteenth-century maps of Europe embellished with decorative cartouches; maps of cities as they might appear if photographed from an aeroplane. These cost us but a fraction of their price at home and with a round baker's dozen of them under our arms, we departed in a happy state of mind with such enduring mementos of our visit to this city of the centuries.

Other churches and public buildings of the same period, of equal severity of line, of a like mellowness of ruddy brick and touch of liveliness of tower, carry out the delightful sense of sprightly age and spirit of the north with which Danzig is invested. Every street does not charm the eye as do some of the more richly quaint thoroughfares of the southerly cities but all of them are redolent of the spirit of a city that once was great. Two of these streets attained fame through illustrious men who were born there, for Danzig in 1686 witnessed the nativity of Gabriel Fahrenheit, whose thermometer is used in the English-speaking countries, but, strangely enough, not in Germany or elsewhere; and of Schopenhauer, the distinguished philosopher, almost exactly a century later.

Robert Medill McBride, from "Totens and People of Modern Germany", New York 1933.



THE HISTORIC RATHAUS

"The flaunting splendour of its heigth was in keeping with the ascending power of the city"

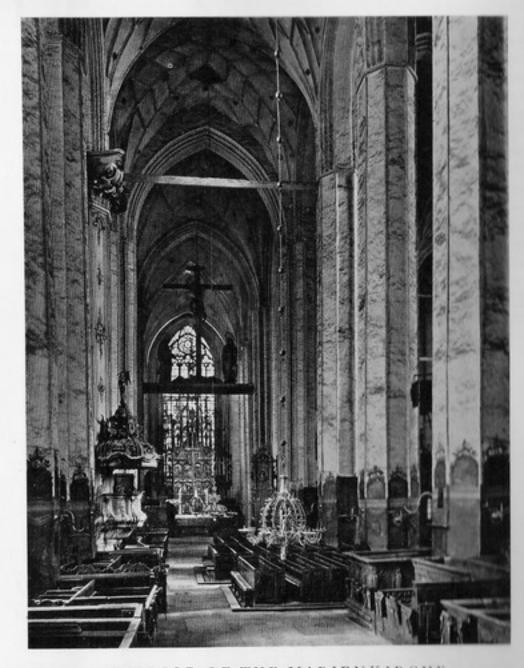


Detail of Hans Memling's (1494†) famous altarpiece "The Last Judgment"

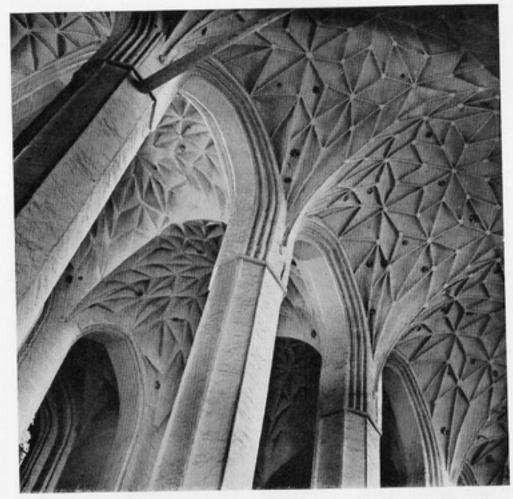
Danzig had always an individuality and a character of its own. To-day it remains essentially Gothic and Teutonic. Some of the most picturesque and artistic examples of Gothic architecture are to be seen in Danzig. The ancient Gothic Rathaus with its graceful spire and ornate decorative interior epitomises the civic grandeur of the city: the Marienkirche, begun in 1303, is one of the largest Protestant churches in Europe - another example of beautiful Gothic, enriched by the artistic work of medieval craftsmen. Among the treasures which the famous church stores are flags and uniforms of Teutonic Knights and a picture of the Resurrection, remarkable for its beauty and its theme, which lovers of art the world over go to see.

In the old streets of Danzig one sees on every hand marks of its medieval greatness, and it preserves indications of luxury and refinement in the old palaces of its merchant princes, which still defy the rigours of the climate, and in its markets and churches. A relic of trade which in the ancient days flowed between Danzig and this country exists in the Englisches Haus, which was the headquarters of English merchants at Danzig in the sixteenth century. In all this pageantry there is no material remains of Polish civilisation.

Sir Robert Donald, from "The Polish Corridor and its Consequences", London 1929.



INTERIOR OF THE MARIENKIRCHE



"...looking up at the immense cathedral-like vaulting of St. Mary's you marvel at the magnificent conception of the ancient builders..."

IT is a fabulously beautiful town. I saw it first under a mantle of new fallen snow, by moonlight. The tremendous pile of the Marienkirche glowered above turrets and roofs; the endlessly successive, intertwining gables were trimmed in glinting pallor; and when the neat descriptive phrase of an English friend pointed out now this, now that, seat of antique glory, it seemed as if the romantic shade of Kenelm Henry Digby had beckoned me (who loved him in my youth) to some romantic Märchenwald in tune with his own unwordly soul. By day, however, the city is mundane enough. Its smelly, crane-dotted, intricate harbor is still host to many ships; its newer districts are proof of how the industrial and social bow has been drawn taut since the War. And when one

had likewise visited old Oliva (where the Catholic bishop, Monsignor O'Rourke, entertained us with rare courtesy and bade his miraculous organ rumble for us) and Zoppot (where thousands play in the summer time), it is an unforgettable visit which adds itself to the most entrancing of remembered scenes.

This proud old Hanseatic town is German to the core, even if during one period of its history it recognized the suzerainty of Polish kings. In few places on earth are the ethnological records more complete, the ancient gild registers with their obviously Teutonic names having been preserved from times antedating even the eagerness of Tudor kings to secure the commercial geodwill of Danzig.

> George N. Shuster, from "The Germans", New York 1932.



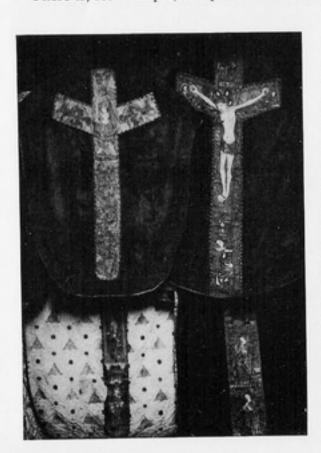
The Danzig "Beautiful Madonna"

#### Treasures in the Church of St. Mary

THE historic old cathedral of St. Mary's, the Marienkirche of Danzig, harbors a treasure which far and away surpasses everything that is preserved today in the store-chambers of other cathedrals or in the showcases of big collections. These are the vestments and altar cloths of matchless brocade from China, Asia, and Italy, products of the period when the art of silk weaving was at its highest in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The embroideries are of unique beauty, and all of a quantity and a variety that are not to be found anywhere else.

The state of preservation of these remarkable pieces is so extraordinarily good that it is difficult to believe that some five or six hundred years have gone by since they were manufactured. Mere words cannot describe the loveliness of the texture, the brilliant colors, the sheen of the silk, the gleaming gold of these beautiful things.

There is, for example, one piece of brocade of black silk and gold. The



The embroideries are of unique beauty

pattern shows ring - like polygons, with birds placed and spaced as in a coat-ofarms. It is one of those rare pieces that may still be found in the treasure chambers of Nara, and among other temple treasures of China and Japan. This material, woven in far-away China, was designed for the court of an Egyptian prince, and is a proof of the lively trade which joined the Far East with the lands on the Mediterranean by way of the caravan routes of Central Asia, about the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The influence of the Chinese weaver's art upon the development of silk weaving in the West is of more significance than the fact of silk being imported from China. The Islamic weaving of Nearer Asia, of which the Marienkirche possesses examples unequalled for richness and preservation, is completely dominated by Chinese influence. In the lands of the Mediterranean that were under Islamic rule, and especially in Sicily and Spain, new founts of this Islamic textile art came into being, spreading thence in the beginning of the fourteenth century to the Italian mainland where, particularly in the town of Lucca in Tuscany, the art flourished to a degree that has never since been surpassed.



Danzig embroidery, early fifteenth century

The fourteenth-century brocades of Lucca are the most costly examples of the weaver's art of all time. The Marienkirche treasury contains over fifty copes and chasubles of this Lucca damask and brocade. This is more than in all the churches and museums of Italy put together. The Danzig merchants evidently brought back from their travels the costliest they could find, and piously presented these gifts to the church of their native town.

The embroideries that decorate the vestments show also the connections between Danzig and southeastern Germany, where at the court of Charles IV in Prague, a new centre of German art had formed. There are many specimens of embroidery pictures of quite exceptional quality from Bohemia and Silesia, and a number of pieces that were worked in England, which also testify to the close relations between that country and Danzig.

In Danzig itself the art of embroidery flourished apace, and valuable examples have found favor abroad. In the treasury of the cathedral at Upsala and in other Swedish churches are preserved a number of church vestments embellished with Danzig embroidery. The masters of Danzig embroidery have also had a considerable influence on the embroiderer's

art of Stockholm. The large number of altar covers, chalice cloths, mass vestments, and so on, of Danzig embroidery preserved in the Marienkirche itself, show the high standard attained in this art.

Actually, the pieces preserved cover a period of one hundred and fifty years, from about 1350 until around 1500. About one-third of the whole collection is on exhibition, and the remainder is to be given the worthiest possible setting when the work on the restoration of the cathedral itself has been completed.

Whoever enters that dim hall in the museum today, where only the colors and the gold of these ancient vestments shine forth, comes under the unique spell of these rare and wonderful objects. Yet these costly tissues are not only pleasing to the eye, nor are they exciting only to the artist and the historian. Rather is it that everyone beholding them must sense the painstaking labor of love which inspired the designers, stitchers and weavers of those far-off days, and which is so vividly apparent still after all these centuries.

Walter Mannowsky

from "The American-German Review", Philadelphia

#### Dangig's Scientific Tradition

WITH its wealth of towers and churches Danzig offers to the eye of the visitor the charming sight of a medieval Hanseatic town displaying at the same time in no uncertain measure the attractions of a great sea port with all the bustle of industrial life. But it offers still a third characteristic sight which is, however, not so familiar to the world at large, for Danzig is one of the most important and most active towns of learning in Eastern Germany. The presence of great numbers of German as well as of foreign students lends a special touch of freshness and open-mindedness to the social and cultural life of the town.

Danzig boasts of three academies: a Technical Academy, an Academy of Medicine and a Teachers' Training Institute. The centre of academic life is the Technical Academy which is being frequented by about 1200 students. It is a very many-sided institution the functions of which go far beyond those of other technical academies and it has the most modern and most complete equipment and appliances. The following branches of science are represented: general science, architecture, engineering, ship-building, electricity, and mathematics in all their branches. There are special courses in economics and agriculture. The Academy was founded at the beginning of the century so as to act as a centre of learning in the province of West-Prussia and enjoys a world-wide reputation. In organic collaboration with the authorities of the Free City it has extended and



Technical Academy at Danzig

adapted its organisation to provide courses and lectures for the members of the working community.

But above all, the great and first aim of the Academy is not to be of subordinate importance to any other similar institution in the general sphere of technical education and research.

The Academy of Medicine works hand in hand with the municipal clinic hospitals and has made good progress especially within the last years which applies likewise to the Teachers' Training Institute. Besides, quite a number of other scientific institutions and societies are established in Danzig which can show good results, steady development and advance in the field of natural science, history of the fine arts, and pre-historics. The town itself is, so to speak, a large open-air exhibition of a great many fine works of art and has, in addition, a number of excellent museums and collections in which fine specimens of art and objects of science are exhibited in a skilful and charming manner which shows them off not so much as objects of display than as objects of life. A number of the old churches hold in their "Tresor" also priceless gems of art and art industrial.

Danzig's scientific institutions are of old standing. In 1558 the Akademische Gymnasium was founded in which philosophy, medicine, and theology were taught. This institution had for quite a time the character of a university and great was the number of illustrious names among its



Martin Opitz

teachers and students. Nobody who visits Danzig today will ever forget the sight of the ancient astronomical observatory which towers since ages on the top of the building of the Society of Natural Science. The municipal library with its fine treasures of books and manuscripts gives particular evidence of the learned character and the scientific traditions of the town. One finds here the prized and cherished collections of scholars of a bygone age which are a good criterion of the high degree of appreciation which the citizens of Danzig were wont to show for the scientific and cultural work and achievements

of their time in former centuries. Here, in the municipal library, hang darkened by age the portraits of great scholars, their heads adorned with full bottomed wigs, the portraits of men whose names still are of good repute today: on that first canvas over there, for instance, a splendid oilpainting, the portrait of Martin Opitz (1597–1639), in stiff Spanish ruff, of elegant ease, a man of the world, at his time of life the most enthusiastically praised German poet and man of letters who, three hundred years ago, dedicated one of the most important early German poems, the ballad of St. Anno, to the President of the Danzig Senate and edited the work in Danzig, thus ushering in the dawn of a new era of our knowledge of the German middle ages.

And here, another portrait: resting his hand on a terrestrial globe, no doubt, a befitting attitude for a person at home on our own planet as well as in the heavenly sphere of its brother planets, there sits before our eyes Johannes Hevelius (1611-1687), alderman of the city of Danzig, member of the Royal Society of London. He was one of the foremost astronomers of his time, recognized as an authority by his Dutch and English fellow astronomers who assisted him with gifts of money so as to enable him to pursue his research work when he had lost the whole of his valuable instruments in a destructive fire.

Nor must we overlook Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit (1686—1736), likewise a son of Danzig and member of the Royal Society of London, whose graduation of the thermometer is in vogue in a great part of the civilized world today.

Mention must be made also of the Danzig geographer Philipp Clüver whose work Germania antiqua was printed in Leyden in 1616, and from among the many historians of this city so proud in the knowledge of its traditions, the writer Reinhold Curike with his work "Description of the Town of Danzig" printed in Amsterdam in 1688, of which Professor Charles Sarolea wrote in 1939: "It is an illustrated history of the town printed in Amsterdam in 1688. Both the text of that volume and the illustrations reveal that Danzig in its traditions,



Johannes Hevelius

in its institutions, and in its very architecture, had retained its purely German character when the city had long ceased to belong to the Hansa League."

In such an account the 18th and 19th centuries must not be omitted because Georg Forster, the great world traveller, and the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, perhaps the best known son of Danzig, came from the Danzig country. The latter stated in advanced years that he regarded his absolute philosophic veracity and inflexible honesty as his portion of that commercial honesty and integrity which his ancestors had developed in the course of many generations in their capacity as Danzig merchants.

And what, now, is the moral we may draw from the incident that such a formidable line of names of great scholars in nearly all spheres of science issued from the limited precincts of one single town in the German East? The moral is that intellectual life and the scientific methods of work which prevail here are based on old traditions. In its long history intellectual Danzig has become an integral part of the German environment as is the case with political Danzig. And this powerful and wide scientific tradition, of which a few features only are illustrated here, rests on its part again on the absolute absence of any variation in the ethnic composition of the purely German town. What is developing into a permanent state of maximum efficiency under the powerful impulses for work and achievement emanating from new Germany is firmly embedded in the intellectual and national inheritance shared in by this long established centre of learning and research in the German East.

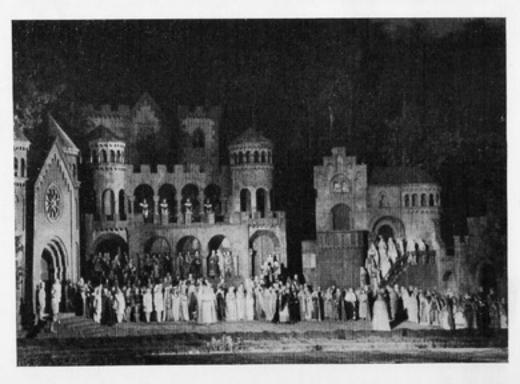
#### 3oppot

Zoppot on the Gulf of Danzig gives its Wagner out of doors in a wonderful natural theatre projected against a sombre background of northern forest that might be cut out of the heart of a Grimm's Fairy Tale. Its fame is spreading rapidly, due to an alchemy of its own that transmutes scepticism into enthusiasm at the first encounter. On a clear summer night with a tang of salt and the fragrance of pines in the air, the effect is unforgettable.

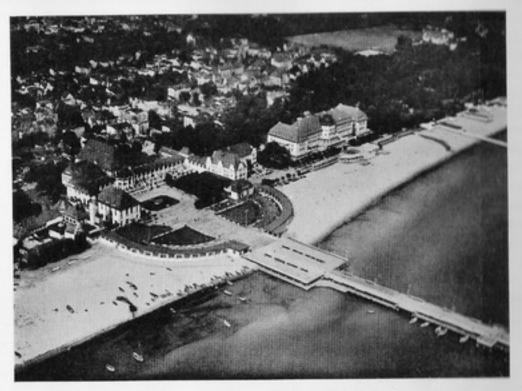
"A queer name," wrote Helen Margaret Harvey in the "Aberdeen Press & Journal", "and an incredible place. A German Derby, Cowes and Wimbledon, all in one.

Flower carnivals and a casino à la Riviera, world championship matches and tournaments in riding and fencing, swimming and dancing; mannequin teas, bridge teas, dancing teas; illuminations, mammoth hotels, and baths with the mud and waters of all the famous Continental spas.

Blue sky and blue water, white sand along a deeply-curved bay, and a thickly-wooded background, a soft mild air inviting sleep,



Lohengrin-Zoppot forest opera



"Blue sky and blue water, white sand along a deeply curved bay. . ."

brilliant sunshine and torrential rain when the moon changes. That's Zoppot.

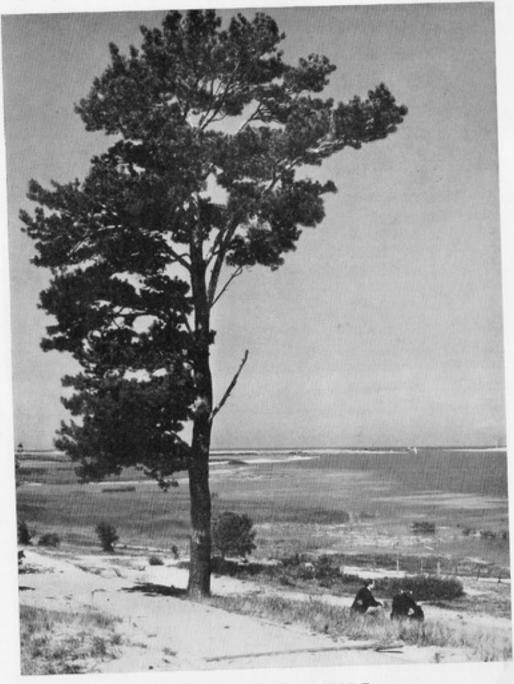
The German guide books inform us that it's the pearl of Baltic seaside resorts, with some thirty thousand inhabitants, ninety-six per cent being pure German; that it's an offshoot of the world-famous patrician city of Danzig.

For the last five-and-twenty years, it has also held a "Wald-Oper," that is, an annual festival of opera produced in an open-air theatre totally surrounded by woods.

Since Hermann Merz of the Munich State Opera became régisseur and director, the ideal possibilities for Wagnerian opera have been appreciated and developed.

In the higher curve of the wooded slopes above the town is the natural amenity of a spacious arena and platform aptly suitable for the colonial designs and orchestra necessary for a "Ring of the Nibelung" tetralogy, or a cathedral setting such as there is in the tale of "Parsifal," of the Holy Grail.

The natural platform has been fitted with a revolving stage, and the operas now produced on it equal in artistic importance the operas of the



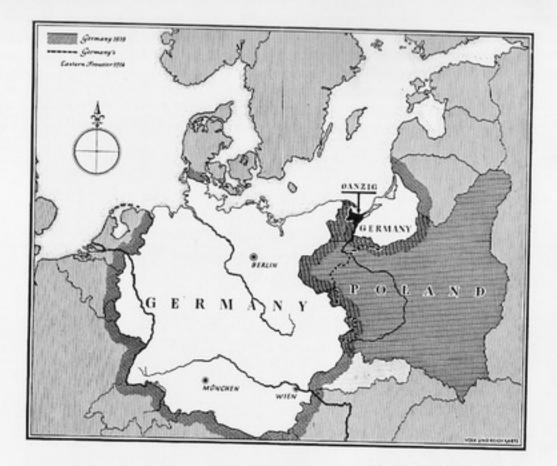
ON THE DANZIG SHORE

Berlin and Munich State theatres at their best, and easily surpass all Wagnerian productions elsewhere with the exception of Bayreuth.

The stage of Zoppot's "Wald-Oper" accommodates a chorus of five hundred without any sense of crowding, besides the stage scenery is on a more natural scale than in the usual theatre. Its arena seats ten thousand.

Here Merz has produced "Lohengrin" and "Parsifal." The conductors were the two state opera conductors from Germany's two principal capital towns, Professor Robert Heger (well known to Scotland and to the Scottish Orchestra) from Berlin, and Karl Tutein from Munich. The singers, including Inger Karén, Göta Ljungberg, and Sven Nilsson, represent the best of the opera houses throughout Germany and the Metropolitan Opera House New York.

There were also festival concerts conducted by the composer Hans-Pfitzner, one including ouvertures and arias by Weber as well as those by Wagner, another devoted entirely to Pfitzner's own works, and symphony concerts of classical and modern music in the Kurgarten, which also boasts two concerts daily of light attractive music."



Danzig city stands on the left bank of the western arm of the Vistula, 4 miles south of its entrance into the Baltic, 253 miles north east from Berlin by rail. It is traversed by two branches of the Mottlau, a tributary of the Vistula.

The city was first mentioned in the year 997. In 1224 Teutonic law was introduced in Danzig. The church of St. Nicholas was erected in 1178 and building of St. Mary's began in 1224. In 1309 the town came under the suzerainty of the Order of the Teutonic Knights; it developed rapidly as a member of the Hanseatic League, and became not only the most notable place in the dominions of the order in Prussia, but one of the most important of medieval commercial centres.

In 1466 Danzig became a free Hanseatic city with purely German administration, enjoying all the rights and privileges of a free city. It entered into a superficial connection with the Polish kings by placing itself under their protection retaining, however, full sovereignty in all matters pertaining to trade and industry, foreign and military affairs. In this position Danzig enjoyed extensive privileges and absorbed almost the entire trade of Poland. The rights and privileges which Danzig granted to the Polish kings in return for their protection were, however, unimportant and strictly limited to the king's person. Danzig stood prepared to entertain the kings within its walls for three days a year, to set aside a granary for the storage of their grain, and to allow them an annuity of two thousand Danzig guilders.



In the year 1576 to 1577 Danzig protected its political and economic independence against the encroaching tendencies of the Polish king Stephan Báthory by defeating him when he laid siege to the city. In the Swedish-Polish war in 1630 Danzig stood aloof and did not help either of the belligerents.

In the year 1704 Danzig concluded an alliance with Prussia. The second partition of Poland (1793) at length restored Danzig to Prussian supremacy. From 1807 to 1813 Danzig was a Napoléonic freestate and in 1814 it was again assigned to Prussia. Two years later it became the capital of the Prussian province of West-Prussia.

In 1919 Danzig's destiny was grievously interfered with by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Danzig was torn from Germany and made—against the wish of its population—an independent freestate under the protection of the League of Nations. The freestate was compelled to grant to Poland certain economic privileges: a customs union with Poland, surrender of the railways to Poland, Polish postal administration in the Danzig harbour. Poland represents Danzig in foreign policy. On the so-called "Westerplatte" an area undisputedly within Danzig territory, the Poles established a great munition dump. Since 1983 the Government of the Free City of Danzig has been National-Socialist.

The city, which in 1460 had a population of 30,000, has today about 290,000 inhabitants. The total territory of the Free City, covering 1966 square kilometres, is inhabited by over 400,000 people, 96 per cent of whom are German.



## The Treaty of Versailles Section XI, Article 104

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a Treaty between the Polish Government and the Free City of Danzig, which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of the said Free City, with the following objects:—

- To effect the inclusion of the Free City of Danzig within the Polish Customs Frontiers, and to establish a free area in the port;
- To ensure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves and other works within the territory of the City necessary for Polish imports and exports;
- 3. To ensure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the Free City, except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the Free City, and of postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and the Port of Danzig;
- 4. To ensure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways and other works and means of communication mentioned in this Article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes;
- To provide against any discrimination within the Free City of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech;
- To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the Free City of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

## Danzig under the Treaty

T is no misuse of words to say that if the Germans of the rest of the Reich were ever to renounce the corner of the Baltic coastland which is enriched by this noble city, its very stones would cry out against them. On the other hand, it is inevitable that the people of Danzig, still living the old German life and retaining the old German culture and laws as they do, should keep their eyes ever turned eastward and westward, and cling to the hope that their little State will prove, in a not too distant future, the link that will join again the severed parts of the common fatherland.

The idea that there ever was on Danzig's part any disposition to secede from Germany may be at once put on one side as absurd. But equally so is the accusation which the Polish Delegation in Paris drummed into the ears of the advisers of the Allied Powers, and which was by them passed on to the Olympian Four, that the German and Prussian Governments had deliberately obstructed the city's development and held back its prosperity out of regard for the interests of other Baltic ports. In April, 1919, I heard this charge from the lips of President Wilson, so that it had clearly impressed him. Replying to one of my arguments against annexation by Poland, he said, "Oh, but in the past Germany has neglected Danzig, and the Poles intend to give it new life and prosperity". (We shall see later what sort of new life and prosperity the Poles are giving to Danzig.) When I refuted the accusion of neglect he explained, "I can only say what my advisers tell me. My information is, of course, secondhand". How far the misrepresentation influenced the Allied Powers in cutting Danzig out of Germany cannot be said, but it is still both ridiculed and resented locally to-day whenever recalled.

On the other hand, it is a fact beyond disproof that neither politically, racially, nor economically have Danzig and Poland anything in common. Nevertheless, the Poles still contend that the city is theirs by right, though thirteen years ago Versailles rejected the claim as unfounded. The composition of the population alone discredits it. In 1919 this was German to the extent of over 97 per cent., leaving under 3 per cent. for Poles and other nationalities; and even now, after a considerable immigration of Polish labourers, which until recently Danzig had no right to check, only 4 per cent. of the 407,000 inhabitants are Poles.

Nominally Danzig was converted into a Free State. Nevertheless, hardly any of the more important rights which formed the sheet-anchor of the city's power and pride in the past have been revived. Its relations with foreign States, its representation abroad, whether by envoys or consuls, the protection of its nationals, and the determination of its customs policy and duties are all assigned to Poland. It cannot even contract a foreign loan without the Polish Government's consent, unless on appeal to the High Commissioner a favourable decision is given. The injury done to Danzig by the refusal to it of independent fiscal powers in particular is, and always must be, insufferable, since in economic matters the interests of the two States are for the most part diametrically opposed, Poland as an agricultural country wanting protection, and plenty of it, while to Danzig as a mercantile town free trading facilities are as the breath of life.

The Polish publicist Professor M. Makowski writes: "The Free City has not been created in the interest of its inhabitants, but entirely in that of Poland," and herein he unquestionably voices the general opinion of his countrymen.

The mentality against which Danzig has to contend is well illustrated by words in which not long ago the Polish Professor named above claimed to define the duty of Poland to the Free State as "the mandatory of the League of Nations," which it certainly is not. "Poland," he said, "is vis-à-vis foreign Powers exclusively responsible for everything that takes place on Danzig territory; if, therefore, the representative, the flag, or a national of a foreign State is insulted, or suffers any kind of injury, the demand for reparation must be presented to the Polish Government, which must thereupon give satisfaction." It is probable that it never occurred to the Polish professor that such words must be offensive to the neighbouring sovereign State, and therein lies the tragedy of the relations between the two peoples. The Poles do not try to understand the feelings of others. For them Danzig is an inconvenience, an impediment, an irritant -they feel it and they continually say it. As for the eventuality of foreign Powers ever having cause to seek satisfaction because of Danzig's wrong doing, no danger to European harmony lies in that direction. In all its negotiations and dealings with foreign States, whith the single exception of Poland, not once from 1920 to the present time has the subject been a grievance on either side.

It would occupy too much space to deal adequately with the economic effects for Danzig of the partition of Eastern Germany in 1920, and only a few leading facts can be stated. A Warsaw newspaper not long ago published a cartoon representing Poland as a wide-spreading, luxuriant tree with a gardener in the act of cutting off a rotten branch labelled "Danzig". There was supposed to be humour in the picture, but if a jest it was a cruel one. Formerly Danzig occupied a highly dignified position as the metropolis of West Prussia, and the focus of its administrative, cultural, and economic life. As a Free City it still retains a position of unique importance, but there has been a complete reorientation of its relationships, since the major part of the old province is now foreign land to it.

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The great cause of anxiety is the Gdingen (in Polish Gdynia) harbour project. A dozen years ago Gdingen was still a sleepy little village containing a few hundred families, engaged for the most part in fishing and small-scale agriculture. To-day it is a seaport town in embryo with already a population estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000. Hills protect the harbour from the strong westerly winds, and there is a fine stretch of flat beach. As planned the port is a great commercial undertaking, but also a great national act of faith, and to pretend to belittle it would be pointless as well as ungenerous. Begun in 1924, it has been brought to its present stage of development mainly by French, Dutch, and Danish engineers and contractors, backed by American and French financiers.

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That "the sword of Gdingen", as the port has been called, is intended as a threat to the old Hanseatic city is frankly avowed by Polish writers who are accepted as authoritative spokesmen of national policy. Utterances like the following might be multiplied indefinitely:

"Our own harbour strengthens our position in Danzig, and will allow us when necessary to boycott Danzig by diverting our trade to Gdingen."

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A former Polish Minister-President, M. Wojciechowski, put the matter bluntly when he said, "The grass must grow in the streets of Danzig and then it will give in". It is, indeed, a common boast among the Poles that Danzig cannot hope to continue permanently as a self-contained unit, and that as such it would eventually die. Whether that be so or not, I am convinced that the people of that ancient and dignified city would rather see it decline and succumb in proud and honourable independence than survive and prosper as a Polish satrapy. Unfortunately there are other and worse features of Gdingen which cannot be viewed without anxious questioning as to what they might mean at some future time.

Several years ago a Polish writer spoke of Gdingen as "the symbol of the will of the entire nation that Poland shall for ever keep watch on the Baltic Sea". Improving on this, a Polish general, later a Minister of State, declared: "To possess the Baltic is not enough; it is necessary to make this sea a new source of political and economic expansion for the Polish State. That can be done only by the Polish mercantile marine and navy". Chauvinist sentiments of this kind are constantly being publicly avowed by responsible men as serious expressions of national policy, and they are extremely dangerous.

Even in the schools to-day the children are systematically taught that the Baltic is a Polish sea. It is true that a struggle for that dominion was waged in past centuries, and that the navies of the Teutonic Order, the Hansa, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, England, France, and Germany all took part in it at one time or another; but Polish ambitions in that direction never had the least chance of success. More than once its kings succeeded in gaining a foothold on the Baltic coast, but sooner or later they were compelled to withdraw again inland.

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No factor in the life of Europe to-day offers so grave and certain a menace to peace as the Corridor, which cuts Germany into two parts, and severs Danzig, one of the most German of cities, from the fatherland. Can Europe afford to ignore this menace and allow matters to drift? So to do would be tantamount to inviting and hastening catastrophe, for instead of improving, the conditions in the Corridor, after and because of over twelve years of Polish occupation, are steadily becoming worse.

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As Bismarck once said Germany can be to Poland "either a good friend or a good enemy". With nearly one third of its population consisting of unreconciled and in larger part irreconcilable racial minorities, and with an uncertain Power of enormous strength on its eastern frontier, why should Poland needlessly multiply its risks? Let its statesmen believe that their country's best friends are not those who egged it into imperialistic ambitions, but those who see the danger of carrying the follies of the old European political system, which collapsed under the strain of war, into the new and still unstable order.

William H. Dawson, from "Germany under the Treaty", London, 1933.

#### Alice in Wonderland Geography

AT last I had reached my furthest destination, East Prussia and her two frontiers with Poland: frontiers lying only a few miles apart, with one of the most important and historic seaports of the world, Danzig, and another great seaport Gdynia, built in the last eight years, lying within this narrow belt.

I knew, for I was present at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, that this extraordinary piece of Alice in Wonderland geography was a product of the brain of Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States of America. It seemed to me then and I said so at the time, that this particular solution of the problem of finding revived Poland an access to the sea was so bizarre that it could not be justified; but I had little authority in the British Delegation, representing, as I did, only the Air interests of this country in the making of the Peace. Of course, the Danzig arrangement was a compromise. President Wilson's plan was to hand over the whole of East Prussia to the Poles. This would have meant that Germany would have surrendered to a newly created State almost the most historic territory within her ancient borders; famous castles, glorious churches, historic families, who have left their mark in every country in Europe, above all a sturdy and romantic race of seamen, foresters, herdsmen, farmers, who through the centuries had been steadfast in victory or defeat, but always valiant in battle.

Everyone in East Prussia believes and says that it was Mr. Lloyd George who refused to accept this solution. Monsieur Clemenceau was not interested, Signor Orlando did not care, President Wilson insisted, Mr. Lloyd George said "no". I have no doubt that this belief of the inhabitants of East Prussia is wellfounded and that the English Prime Minister saved Europe from a folly which would have altered world history and probably have plunged Europe in chaos.

On the eastern side of the narrow corridor, which separates the rest of Germany from the provinces of East and West Prussia, lies the Free State of Danzig, administered by a High Commissioner appointed by the League of Nations and paid as regards himself, his staff and his house by the League. This Free State is a minute territory, about the size of a small English county, with glorious, historic Danzig as its capital. The mighty Vistula runs by. In olden days Danzig and the Vistula were a prize contested for between Poles and Germans. For centuries it was German under the aegis of the Teutonic Knights, whose castles still survive. Then the King of Poland wrested supremacy, wholly or partially. For the last two

hundred years or more, this region has been the national pride of the German race. Now it belongs to the League of Nations and the representatives of Ecuador and Liberia may advise upon its fate.

I make no apology for criticising the present arrangement. Everyone concerned knows full well that it cannot last . . .

We drove down to the tributary of the Vistula which runs through Danzig and boarded the President's launch, a smart little vessel with three men in uniform. We proceeded very slowly down the famous waterway, the old granaries still standing as they were three hundred years ago and still used; the great crane four hundred years old worked by manpower and still found useful for lifting the masts of small vessels; the modern ship-building yard, where some of Germany's greatest liners were built, and so after a few miles to the Vistula. One of my companions said bitterly: "This is one of the world's greatest water-ways; it is internationalised and so it is ruined." That an immense volume of trade has been lost there is no doubt; but how far the League of Nations is qualified to manage the great Estuary I do not know. It would seem to me that the plan is not likely to work well.

As you go down the main channel of the Vistula, now called "the dead Vistula" because a large portion of the volume of the great river has been diverted to the entrance of the Baltic to the eastward, you pass on your starboard, or right bank, large earth works looking like a fort. This is the depôt for munitions of war granted to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles. I asked if it was being used and was informed, "Oh yes, very largely". I asked again whether it would not be more convenient to land munitions and explosives at the purely Polish port of Gdynia. I was told no, for they did not want too much explosive near their great, new harbour. And so we passed the munition depôt to the well-buoyed entrance to the Baltic.

It was a bright, sunny afternoon with a fresh northerly breeze. In the clear light we had a wonderful panorama of the Bay of Danzig. To the left, as we steamed slowly out to sea, was the passenger port of Zoppot four miles away; then two or three miles of more or less open country, with villas dotted about and then, less than eight miles away from where we were, the imposing new port of Gdynia (Polish territory).

Wondering greatly that the Treaty of Versailles could have produced such an extraordinary duplication of energy, I landed, drove to the excellent aerodrome, met my son Patrick who had flown from England to join me, and so to dinner at one of the huge hotels at Zoppot.

> Lord Mottistone, from "Mayflower seeks the Truth" (Auf der Suche nach der Wahrheit, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart 1937.)

#### American, English and other foreign statements on the Polish Corridor and Danzig

The only real interest of France in Poland is in weakening Germany by giving Poland territory to which she has no right.

> Woodrow Wilson, April 7, 1919. (see Baker: Woodrow Wilson, London 1923, vol. II).

First of all the frontiers of Upper Silesia and of the Polish Corridor must be rectified. The present peace in Europe is the peace of brutal force.

William E. Borah.

The men who made the peace treaties created a much worse Alsace-Lorraine to the east of Germany in the Corridor that separates East Prussia from the rest of Germany . . . It would have paid Germany to cede back Alsace and Lorraine before 1914. It might be just as far-sighted for Poland to surrender or modify the Corridor. She can live well without it. She may not be able to survive because of it. Harry Elmer Barnes.

A further grave source of friction between Poland and Danzig has been the question of effective storage and control of war material exported or imported through Danzig from Poland. The League Council first considered the problem early in 1921. In 1924 it accepted the recommendation of a neutral commission of inquiry that the Westerplatte peninsula, lying at the right of the mouth of the Vistula just across from the Danzig free harbor, be turned over to Poland for a munitions dump. The expense of constructing a harbor basin, docks, buildings, etc. was to be shared equally by the Polish and Danzig Governments.

Though Poland alone is responsible for compensation for injury or damage in case of an explosion, the Danzigers naturally do not wish their free harbor to be blown up. Nor do they see any justification for the fact that they have had to bear half the building cost of the Westerplatte facilities constructed for the sole use of the Poles.

Furthermore, the fact that the Poles are building a large harbor and naval base of their own at Gdynia on the Baltic causes the Danzigers to inquire why the munitions dump was not located there. The Westerplatte peninsula was previously Danzig's most popular swimming resort and its loss is felt by all sections of the population.

> Foreign Policy Association, New York. Information Service. August 17, 1927.

The very existence of the Corridor is an affront to Germany. What will the new generation say to their fathers tolerating such indignity?

Emil Lengvel,

"The Cauldron Boils", New York, 1932.

Only someone who is totally unfamiliar with German history and totally impervious to one of the main streams of German thought, which a lost war and a half-hearted revolution have not eliminated, can believe that in the long run Germany will accept without resistance the present arrangement in the east. East Prussia, separated from the rest of the Reich by a narrow strip of Polish territory, prohibited from fortifying herself by the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, economically impoverished and subject to a systematic campaign of economic and cultural penetration by the renaissant and rapidly multiplying Poles, is in extremis.

Eastern Prussia, say Germans, will be abandoned by Germany when the United States abandons to aliens the New England of Concord and Emerson, the Mount Vernon of Washington or the Monticello of Jefferson.

Foreigners who know Germany best realize this. The late Marshal Foch forecast shortly before his death that the Polish Corridor would be the scene of the next war. Viscount d'Abernon, for years after the war British Ambassador in Berlin, and one of the keenest and most intelligent observers of the German situation, wrote: "The Polish Corridor is the danger spot of Europe".

And the Germans themselves have been quite open in their repudiation of the present arrangement. Even at the one moment since the war when Europe seemed headed for peace and understanding—at Locarno, when Germany voluntarily relinquished in perpetuity any claim to Alsace-Lorraine and agreed to guarantee with her own forces the frontier drawn in the west by the Treaty of Versailles—Germany refused to accept in perpetuity the boundaries on the east.

Neither historical nor racial arguments are, to be sure, definitive. Historically, a renaissant Mexico could claim the whole of Central and Southern California, New Mexico, Arizona and Texas. Yet it is unthinkable that the people of the United States would recognize this claim. Whatever the predominant race of the people of this area may be, say the Germans, German technic and industry, German capital and German organizing power made German Poland what it was and still is. The Teutonic Knights built the great cities; modern Germans, since Frederick the Great, cleared

the rivers, built the roads, developed agriculture, established schools and universities.

And it is impossible to wave this argument lightly aside. That part of Poland formerly German is sharply distinguishable from the rest of Poland. In that part of Poland formerly Russian are Slavic sloppiness and waste. No physical features distinguish Western Poland from neighboring Prussia which once ruled it. There are the same trim villages, the same beautiful roads bordered by precise rows of trees—birches and willows and apple—the same small peasant holdings set in fruit gardens, the same carefully fenced and tended fields, the same exquisite order and organization which give the German countryside a beauty all its own.

Dorothy Thompson, in "The Saturday Evening Post", August 20, 1932.

Almost never do British or American critics of German and Polish policies, in respect of the Corridor, attempt to translate these European issues into the political circumstances of their own life. Thus Americans, who in the name of World peace, unhesitatingly demand German or Polish sacrifice in the matter of the Corridor, would be astounded at the mere suggestion that the United States should cede New England to Canada or California to Mexico.

In German eyes to crect the Corridor with its Danzig attachment, necessarily took precisely the form of the project to carve out a Canadian Corridor along the Hudson and erect a New York Free State at the southern extremity, would have in America.

First of all, throughout all the regions turned over to Poland, there began a vast emigration of Germans . . . And on the heels of these emigrants, there followed in an even larger number of Slavic settlers . . . Month by month while the tonnage of Danzig remained stationary, that of Gdynia took on new proportions. Thus in fact Germanism within Danzig is not only undergoing siege, but is actually in extremis.

Frank H. Simonds,
"Can Europe Keep the Peace?", London, 1932, New York, 1934.

The French controlled commission on Polish affairs succeeded in inducing the Conference to drive a Corridor between East Prussia and the body of the Reich, leaving East Prussia an island and in a very exposed situation indeed. It needs no military mind to see that this German territory is open to an eventual Polish attack from three sides.

Frederick W. Kaltenbach, "Self-determination 1919", London, 1938.

I cannot conceive any greater cause of future war than that the German people, who have certainly proved themselves one of the most vigorous and powerful races in the world, should be surrounded by a member of small states, many of them consisting of people who have never previously set up a stable government for themselves, but each of them containing large masses of Germans clamouring for reunion with their native land. The proposal of the Polish Commission that we should place 2,100,000 Germans under the control of a people which is of a different religion and which has never proved its capacity for stable self-government throughout its history must, in my judgment, lead sooner or later to a new war in the East of Europe.

Lloyd George, March 25, 1919. (see Temperly: A History of the Peace Conference, London 1920-24, vol. VI).

I think we are building a house of sand. And in view of these and many other considerations, I would revise the boundaries of Poland as provisionally settled in the Treaty, leave Upper Silesia and all real German territory to Germany, contract the boundaries of the Free City of Danzig, and instead of placing her under the suzerainty of Poland as we propose doing, leave her under the suzerainty of Germany with an administration under the League of Nations. I think the two cardinal errors in policy of this Treaty are the long occupation of the Rhine, and the enlargement of Poland beyond anything which we had contemplated during the war. These two errors are full of menace for the future peace of Europe, and I urge that every means be taken to remove them before it is too late.

General J. C. Smuts to Lloyd George, May 22, 1919. (see Baker: Woodrow Wilson, London 1923, vol. 111).

Now that Locarno has diminished danger on the German-French frontier, the Polish Corridor is the danger-spot in Europe.

> Lord Edgar Vincent D'Abernon, January 23, 1926. (see "Diary of an Ambassador", London, New York, 1929-1931).

Poland had to be put into the map of the new Europe. But this map has a very odd appearance, if one glances to the Baltic sea. One realises that Prussia has been divided into two parts. The territory suddenly comes to an end and makes room for a small strip of Polish territory; on the other side of it there is again Prussian territory. If you go and pay a visit

to that small corner of Europe as I have done it, you will find that the frontier-line has been effected in detriment to the most elementary eco-. Frederic C. Linfield, nomic considerations.

in the American periodical "Current History", 1928.

The figures could show that what is now known as the Polish Corridor was not "inhabited by indisputably Polish populations". But even those figures are only arrived at by means of an arbitrary calculation and by thrusting a wedge through German territory. There is no logical reason why the population of Danzig in 1910 should not be included - unless, indeed, it be a reason that such a procedure would be fatal to Polish contentions . . . Clearly the country was far from being indisputably Polish . . . In reality Poland had no need either of free access to the sea or of control of the Port of Danzig . . . Since then, however, Poland has herself furnished the proof that the Port of Danzig was not necessary for her industrial welfare; for she has proceeded to construct another harbour at a distance of a few kilometres, and has entered into direct competition with Danzig . . . The statesmen who at Versailles suggested that Danzig was again being placed in the position which she had occupied between the middle of the fifteenth and the end of the eighteenth century went somewhat astray historically . . . Very different is the situation to-day, for now the Free City of Danzig is free only in name . . . The economic prosperity of East Prussia has been largely destroyed by severance from the rest of Germany . . . It may be taken for granted that a virile care of sixty five millions will not for ever passively consent to a wedge being driven through its territory; anymore than the inhabitants of the United States would permit Canada to extend through the middle of the State of Maine . . . The inhabitants of Danzig are determined both to remain German and, one day, Laurence Lyon, to be reunited to their mother-country.

"Fruits of Folly", London, 1930.

Danzig I found more German than Germany itself. German culture is firmly stamped on nearly every building, the population is almost entirely German, and German nationalism is strong.

E. W. Polson Newman, "Britain and the Baltic", London, 1930.

If Poland does not show her need of Danzig by using it-and the building of Gdynia is a sign that she is determined to use it as little as possible-there is no further justification for the artificial separation of Danzig from the German State in the interest of Polish Commerce.

"Manchester Guardian", April 28, 1931.

No one can travel over that broad belt of land (Polish Corridor) which cuts Prussia into two portions, or stay in Danzig or in East Prussia, without arriving at the conviction that the present arrangement cannot be permanent. It is the result of a blunder by those who thought to solve a political problem without taking account of human nature.

Lord Dickinson, in "Nineteenth Century", September 1931.

The humiliation as well as the injury inflicted on Germany by this cruel and, as I hope to show, unnecessary act of mutilation has put iron into the soul of her people. Let an Englishman imagine a great slice of our country similarly in alien occupation-say, a wedge running through to the opposite coast from Hull to Newcastle on the east and from Liverpool or Bristol on the west-and he will better understand the feeling of embitterment which exists in Germany and deepens and hardens with the flux of time.

Whatever that region became in course of ages, whatever it is today, is due to German rule, German settlement, German enterprise, skill and sacrifice.

I go further and contend that neither the Corridor nor Danzig is any longer needed by Poland.

"Nineteenth Century", December 1931.

The Corridor was the powder box of Europe and that sooner or later Germany had to settle the question for herself, if this impossible position was not regulated in the near future.

Anthony Crossley, M. P., in the "Evening Standard", London, 1939.

The old Hansa town of Danzig is truly Teutonic, and the Teutonic solution of the problem is the only right one, the only peaceful one.

Sir Raymond Beazley, in the "Daily Telegraph", September 12, 1932

East Prussia was separated from the Reich by an enormous injustice.

J. L. Garvin, in the "Observer", London, October 1932.

It would be safer to reopen questions like those of the Danzig-Corridor and Transsylvania with all their delicacy and difficulty in cold blood and in a calm atmosphere and while the victor nations still have ample superiority, than to wait and drift on, inch by inch and stage by stage, until once again vast combinations, equally matched, confront each other face to face . . . Winston Churchill M. P.,

in the House of Commons, November 27, 1932 (5. Series, vol. 272).

In a favourable moment which is perhaps rather far away now the Germans will fight to the last breath to bring about a change here, not because of the propaganda of a military party or thirst of conquest, but solely for the reason, that the whole nation believes that the splitting-up of Germany represents a enormous and unjustified wrong.

> Sir Raymond Beazley, in a lecture in Birmingham, May 1933.

I think it most unlikely that any German Government will even admit formally or otherwise that the present settlement is just, and that for the best of reasons, that it is not. M. W. Beaumont, M. P.,

in the "Times", London, 27th May 1933.

Having myself spent a year as Commissioner for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier, I was amazed at the cunning ingenuity of the men who planned this frontier on lines calculated to cause the maximum of friction.

Here, too, the makers of the Treaty of Versailles have nothing to be proud of: the more loudly the statesmen deplore talk of treaty revision, the more inevitable becomes the explosion of human resentment and the pent-up forces of ill will. The population of Danzig is as purely German as that of any port in England is English. The present frontiers have no economic and no racial justification. They are the outcome of false doctrines of security and revenge.

Sir Arnold Wilson,

"Walks and Talks abroad", London, 1937.

It is true that the Free City was one of the unhappiest products of the peace settlement. A German population was severed from Germany by a complicated piece of surgery that cannot last.

"Manchester Guardian", September 1, 1937.

The fault lies with the treaty makers, who in severing Danzig from Germany to provide Poland with an outled to the sea, bowed down before the creed of self-determination, and constituted her a sovereign state.

> Sir D. G. Arbuthnot, in the "Daily Telegraph", September 8, 1938.

Concerning the Polish Corridor it can be said with certainty that Germany will never resign herself to the situation.

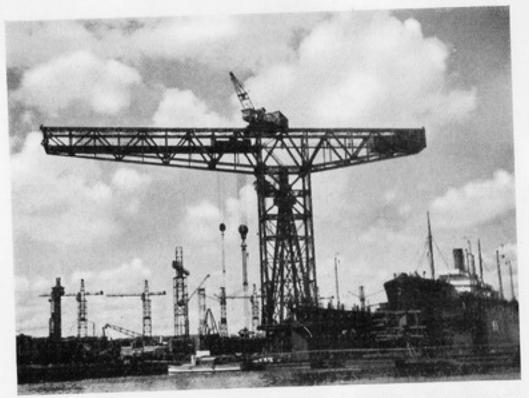
> Thomas G. Masaryk, in the "Saturday Review", London, October 1930.

La Pologne actuelle constitue un obstacle insurmontable total au rapprochement franco-allemand. Dantzig est ville libre, mais de nom seulement: en fait l'Etat libre est rattaché à la Pologne. Le tracé de la frontière entre la Pologne et la Prusse orientale, le long de la Vistule, au sud de l'Etat libre de Dantzig, répond paraît-il, à des nécessités stratégiques, mais il condamne à une mort lente toute une province autrefois riche et prospère . . . Le corridor, Dantzig, la frontière actuelle de la Prusse orientale, mais ce sont trois défis au bon sens et à la raison!.. Et maintenant, lecteur, dites-moi si un rapprochement franco-allemand est possible tant que la question des frontières polonaises n'aura pas été revisée conformément à la justice? L'Allemagne peut-elle croire à la sincérité de nos intentions aussi longtemps que nous nous obstinerons à maintenir ce non sens, la frontière polono-prussienne, cette monstruosité barbare contre toute une peuple, le corridor de Dantzig, cette injustice et perpétuelle provocation, la sujétion de Dantzig à la Pologne? . . Ayons le courage de le dire: les vainqueurs ont eu tort de créer le corridor polonais, ils ont commis une lourde, une très lourde faute, contre le droit et contre l'humanité quand ils ont séparé de l'Allemagne la Prusse orientale. On ne coupe pas en deux un Etat, on ne tranche pas dans une chair vivante, on ne fait pas d'un grand peuple deux tronçons séparés . . . La Prusse orientale est séparée. Les menaces d'annexion que la mégalomanie polonaise fait peser sur elle, effrayent le capital allemand . . . On a créé l'Etat libre de Dantzig. Dantzig est une ville allemande. Les Allemands y constituent 96%, les Polonais 2% de la population totale.

René Martel,
"La Pologne et Nous", Paris, 1928.

It is now five years that I fight for the revision of the peace treaty, especially for the cancellation of the Corridor which has created an untenable position in Europe. Whilst at the beginning I met with protests and lack of comprehension, now people agree with me: "One should give back the Corridor to Germany." If I were a German no other question would exist for me than the cancellation of the Corridor. France would have never allowed a Corridor to be erected between Nancy and Le Havre.

Translated from Albert Bayet, "La Republique", Paris, 1932.



Danzig's modern harbour, handling an annual shipping tonnage of 15 million

## The Danzig Parbour since the Treaty of Versailles

THE alteration of the political map of Eastern Europe by the Treaty of Versailles brought about a change in the grouping of certain powers in an economic and commercial sense as far as a number of states contiguous to the Baltic were concerned. The clearest illustration of this fact is the re-instated Polish State. Insisting upon the fulfilment of its demand for free access to the sea and adapting itself to particular political and economic constellations in Europe, Poland undertook to divert her commerce from the prevailing East-to-West direction which was, until then, considered vital for Poland, into a South-to-North course. Henceforth Poland patronized this new channel of her trade by all means in her power, especially by directing her foreign trade towards the coastal frontier of the Danzig-Polish customs area, a frontier which is scarcely sixty miles long.

After Danzig was torn from the German Reich for the purpose of giving Poland free access to the sea via the Danzig sea port at the mouth of the Vistula and after the inclusion of Danzig within the customs area of Poland and the subsequent subjection of Danzig to Polish customs tariffs and Polish customs legislation, the road should have been clear for the rise of Danzig as the port which gave Poland free access to the sea.

Glancing at the statistics of the shipping traffic using the port of Danzig one can distinguish very clearly four periods in the years since the Treaty of Versailles. The first extends from 1919 to 1923, the second from 1924 to 1928, the third from 1929 to 1933 and the fourth is the present period.

The first of these periods is characterised by the political and economic distress with which the hinterland of Danzig's harbour was burdened, and which can be explained by the effects of the Great War and the difficulties encountered in building up a centralised political and economic structure under Polish sovereignty. A reference to the Bolshevik-Polish war and the chaos caused by the inflation which set in during the succeeding years is sufficient to illustrate the obstacles in the way of the systematic development of Polish foreign trade. As compared with the years immediately preceding the War, during which a good 2,300,000 tons were transhipped in the Danzig harbour, these difficult transitional years, after an initial heavy import of food stuffs for the necessitous Polish population, show a considerable decrease in traffic using the Danzig harbour.

The second period began in 1924. Poland had a firm currency. It was Poland's intention to give an active form to her balance of trade and whilst limiting her import she, at the same time, pushed her export. As yet no commercial treaty had been made between Poland and her eastern neighbour, the USSR. In 1925 tariff war broke out between Poland and her western neighbour, the German Reich. Poland's intention to build up and expand her sea-borne trade was emphasised by the German-Polish tariff war. Poland strove to make up for the loss of her German export coal market by opening up new markets in North-European countries. In 1926 the coal strike broke out in England.

Poland's oversea coal export took a highly favourable turn. In 1925 the export of coal via Danzig was a good 600,000 tons, in 1926 it rose to 3,400,000 tons, in the next year to 4,100,000 tons and in 1928 to 5,300,000 tons. The export traffic using the harbour of Danzig was monopolised by coal whilst in import transhipment which was so heavily increasing in 1927 and 1928 ore and pyrites were as far as quantity in



River Mottlau With Crane Gate

concerned the most frequent commodities. The development of shipping in the port of Danzig between 1924 and 1928 can be seen from the following figures:

	Imports (tons)	Exports (tons)	Total (tons)
1924	738,071	1,636,485	2,374,556 6,300,299
1926	640,695 1,832,409	5,659,604 6,783,273	8,615,682

As compared with pre-war years the amount of goods transhipped through the port of Danzig was almost four times as great. But Danzig trade did not actually benefit by this increase in quantity since the decisive bulk goods of small value, such as coal and ore used the harbour of Danzig in transit only and were in a very short time transhipped from railway truck to ship hold and vice-versa by means of magnificent mechanical facilities, so that transhipment had become extremely mechanised.

To this second period belongs the extensive programme for enlarging the Danzig harbour, the capacity of which was considerably increased by the building of a bulk goods basin at Weichselmünde. After smaller fluctuations the third period experienced an alarming decrease in the shipping of the port of Danzig which is revealed by the following details:

following details.	Imports	Exports	Total (tons)	
1929	(tons) 1,792,951	(tons) 6,766,699	8,559,650	
1933	493,167	4,659,808	5,152,975	

The reasons for this decrease in the amount of goods transhipped through the harbour of Danzig are not to be sought in the effects which the world economic crisis of that time had upon the hinterland of the Danzig harbour, but in the fact that Poland had begun to divide her shipping trade. In 1924, not many miles away from Danzig, the Polish Government had begun to erect a new free access to the sea, the harbour of Gdynia.

This harbour was built by the Polish State, is managed and promoted by the State with all the means at its disposal, and the setting up of this harbour proved a rapid success. This fact is illustrated most effectively by the following figures in respect of the goods imported and exported through Gdynia:

through Guyma.	Imports	Exports	Total
	(tons)	(tons)	(tons)
1926	179	413,826	414,005
	192,711	1,767,058	1,959,769
	504,117	3,121,631	3,625,748
	870,704	5,235,162	6,105,866

In spite of its considerable increase Poland's shipping traffic was not sufficient to be able to make full use of the capacity of the Danzig harbour which had been considerably extended and therefore Gdynia could not be but a drain on the harbour of Danzig. In the course of a few years numerous commodities had been diverted more or less entirely from Danzig to Gdynia, and from other commodities which, owing to the measures of the Polish Government, were carried via the sea route for import into Poland, Gdynia derived the entire benefit. The fall of Danzig and the rise of Gdynia! In 1933 for the first time the traffic of Gdynia exceeded that of the port of Danzig with its tradition hundreds of years old. The result of this unequal competition between the government harbour of Gdynia, carried on without regard to its profitableness, and the harbour of Danzig working according to the principles of private

commerce finds expression in the following survey showing the distribution of the goods traffic passing over the Danzig-Polish sea frontier:

	Danzig	Gdynia
	per cent.	per cent.
1929	75.2	24.8
1931	61.1	38.9
1933	45.8	54.2

Gdynia was unmistakably a menace for Danzig. In view of this, in May 1930, the Danzig Government lodged a complaint with the High Commissioner of the League of Nations in an effort to make good its rightful claim as it was definitely and explicitly laid down in a decision made by the High Commissioner of the League of Nations in Danzig on 15th August 1921 that Poland should make full use of the Danzig harbour. For three whole years the committees of the League of Nations occupied themselves with this legal dispute between Danzig and Gdynia. Meanwhile, the decrease in the shipping of the port of Danzig continued unimpeded.

It was therefore of great importance that, immediately after assuming office in June 1933, the National-Socialist Government of the Free City of Danzig should have tried to come to some direct understanding with Poland in order to make up for the fruitless negotiations before the committees at Geneva. The first problem to be held up for discussion was the fate of the Danzig harbour. If Danzig's ruin was to be averted this unimpeded competition between Gdynia and Danzig had to be removed and normalised. On 5th August, 1933, Poland signed an agreement with Danzig in regard to the use of the harbour of Danzig. In this agreement the Danzig Government declared itself prepared to withdraw its claim that Poland should make full use of the port of Danzig during the term of the agreement whilst the Polish Government pledged itself to guarantee to share its import, export, and transit traffic "with due regard to the quantity and quality of the goods", equally between the harbours of Danzig and of Gdynia. In a certain respect this pledge received practical backing by the signing of a protocol in Warsaw on 18th September, 1933. To this was added a list of 44 commodities important for the maintenance of the structure of the traffic of the Danzig harbour, and Poland pledged herself to use the port of Danzig for certain annual minimum quantities. These agreements came into force at the end of 1933 and were afterwards renewed twice, each time for a year. On the proposal of the Danzig Government fresh negotiations were conducted with the Polish Government and these negotiations were completed by the agreement of 5th January, 1937. The Warsaw Protocol of 18th September, 1933, was extended for three years, that is until 31st December, 1939. In addition this new agreement contains, among other things, conditions which are to guarantee that the Polish Government will make equal use of the ports of Danzig and of Gdynia. The Danzig Government for its part declared that it would make no distinction in its treatment of Polish commercial undertakings sharing in transhipment in the Danzig harbour, and Danzig undertakings. This declaration became actual when by means of a number of measures arrived at after discussions with representatives of Polish commercial circles it was made considerably easier for these circles to use the port of Danzig.

With the Danzig-Polish harbour agreement there began in 1934 the fourth period in the development of shipping in the port of Danzig. The following statement shows the volume of goods transhipped via the port of Danzig as compared with that of the goods transhipped via the port of Gdynia in the years 1934 to 1938.

	Goods impor	ted (in tons)	Goods exported (in to			
	via Danzig	via Gdynia	via Danzig	via Gdynia		
1934	655,763	991,544	5,713,181 4,675,002	6,200,369 6,407,490		
1936 1938	953,154 1,547,866	1,335,456 1,526,536	5,583,886	7,646,902		
Total amount of	of goods trans	hipped via				
		Danzig	Gdynia			
		(in tons)	(in tons)			
1934 .		6,368,944	7,191,913			
		5,628,156	7,742,946			
		7,131,752	9,173,438			

It will be seen from the above figures that as far as quantities are concerned the total amount of goods transhipped through the port of Gdynia since 1934 was considerably greater than that of the goods transhipped through the port of Danzig. In 1938 the amount of goods transhipped through the Danzig harbour was exceeded by not less than 2,041,686 tons, that is by 28.6 per cent.

A fact which is not less important is that during the last few years the structure of the sea-borne shipping traffic of Danzig has suffered a further extraordinarily ominous decrease in respect of imports. In spite of the list of commodities drawn up on 18th September, 1933, the diversion of the piece goods traffic from Danzig to Gdynia has still continued, a policy already introduced a number of years ago by manifold measures promoted by the Polish Government. The damage suffered by Danzig on account of Gdynia can be seen from the following comparative statement showing the distribution of goods imported through the two ports:

	piece	bulk g	goods		
	1932	1938	1932	1938	
	per	cent.	per e	ent.	
Danzig	50.4	21.2	49.6	78.8	
Gdynia	31.3	47.7	68.7	52.3	

In 1938 out of a total import of 1,547,866 tons through Danzig not less than 1,073,886 tons, that is almost 70 per cent., were ore and pyrites, transit bulk goods of small value, and this fact alone throws a glaring light on a development which holds dangers for Danzig which need not be emphasised.

In the harbour of Danzig numerous sheds and warehouses for the storing of piece goods stand empty, whilst the sheds in Gdynia are overstocked and no longer suffice. It is therefore not surprising that there is a positively alarming disproportion between Danzig and Gdynia in respect of value. This can be seen from the following statement showing the share of the two ports in the value of Polish foreign trade in 1938:

								Danzig	Gdynia		
								per cent.	per cent.		
Imports	 				 . ,			7,5	53.7		
Exports									40.9		
Total								15.5	47.3		

The conclusion to be drawn from the above facts is that Danzig has not had an "equal share" in Polish shipping either as far as quantity or as far as quality is concerned. The transhipment value of the shipping using Gdynia has year after year become greater than that of the harbour of Danzig. The Polish Government has therefore not fulfilled its obligations towards the harbour of Danzig.

Because of these facts and because, as long as Danzig exists, the fate of the port of Danzig has been and always will be of decisive importance for the welfare of Danzig as a commercial centre, there is all the more justification for the demand that the problem of the Danzig harbour should be solved, the existence of the German harbour undertaking assured and one of the most essential objects for the completion of Danzig's German mission attained.

\*\*Kurt Peiser\*\*.



THE DANZIG FLAG

#### The River Vistula

There were times when the German City of Danzig was proudly called "the Queen of the Vistula". It was in those decades and centuries when the spirit of the Germanic Hansa had made Danzig, the port at the mouth of the Vistula, the all important centre of incoming and outgoing commerce in the eastern part of the Baltic, when Danzig merchant-men sailed all over the high seas carrying merchandise from the Vistula basin to the markets throughout the world and in return supplied the hinterland of the port of Danzig with foodstuffs and luxury articles of consumption, with Flemish cloths and various other valuable commodities. At that time the river Vistula was a highway of great consequence for the merchant, a waterway which it was next to impossible to eliminate from the history of the eastern parts, the river that bore on its mighty flow of waters the destiny of Eastern Europe. Within the scale of the ups and downs of economic as well as political events traffic on the Vistula increased or fell off and with it increased or fell off Danzig's commerce and Danzig's traffic.

The 19th century caused a substantial change in the significance of the river as an artery of commerce. While within that period everywhere in Europe its great rivers began to serve a largely widened market and greatly intensified purposes owing to a mightily increased volume of trade, the Vistula as a unit of the vast system of inland waterways failed to perform on her part useful services for a wider range of tasks and purposes. What had caused such a change to happen? The great political changes the structure of Europe underwent at the end of the Napoléonic wars had not fulfilled Russia's expectations nor her desire to obtain possession of the mouth of the Vistula and, thus, of the ice-free port of Danzig. Quite the contrary, after long years of acutely felt separation the German city of Danzig was given back to Prussia. In this way the lower course of the Vistula, from Thorn to Danzig, was within Prussian territory. The middle part of the river run through Russian provinces whereas the source of the river was situated within the boundaries of what was at that time the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. Three countries shared thus in the basin of the Vistula, each of them pursuing other aims. Austria was more or less completely disinterested in the Vistula as a waterway. Russia never veiled her intention to divert to the Russian ports as large a share as possible of the trade that formerly went via Danzig. In consequence she did not show any inclination to shoulder the task of regulating the middle course of the river, a problem that became more pressing from decade to decade. So it was solely the Prussian Government which took an interest in the task of turning the lower course of the river into an efficient inland waterway for the purpose of attracting, on the one hand, traffic from the adjoining Prussian provinces of Posen, West- as well as East-Prussia and, on the other hand, of making the lower course of the river a valuable link between the system of inland waterways as existing in East-Prussia and that of the other parts of Germany. Whereas, in the best case, the upper and middle course of the Vistula admitted of a very limited volume of river-borne local traffic, the extraordinarily extensive and painstaking work of reclamation which the Prussian Government carried through on the lower course of the Vistula at a cost of almost 150 million Gold Marks had the effect that the Prussian Vistula developed a very considerable volume of traffic as is indicated by the following figures:

Within the year 1912 the following number of vessels and tonnage of cargo passed through the Vistula locks at Einlager: down-stream-5,703 vessels with 302,247 tons of cargo; up-stream-5,684 vessels with 308,039 tons of cargo.

The issue of the World War put a new face on the Vistula problem. The dictate of Versailles changed also the map of Eastern Europe. Since then, almost the whole course of the Vistula, from the source nearly right up to the mouth of the river, lies within Polish territory. By handing over the administration of the port of Danzig and of the inland waterways situated in the territory of the Free City of Danzig to a "Commission for the port and the waterways of Danzig" which consists of an equal number of Danzig and Polish members, Poland, too, was given the chance of getting her share of the mouth of the Vistula. It appeared as if from now on the Vistula was actually going to become the highway of Polish commerce . . . . Poland actually represented the Vistula basin, the Vistula had become Poland's waterway to the Baltic, and Danzig, the port at the mouth of the Vistula, Poland's sole free access to the sea!

But it never came to that. At that time the whole of Poland stood convinced of the importance of the Vistula for Polish traffic as well as for Poland's trade and industry, a topic which was freely discussed in a great number of newspaper articles. Lengthy memoranda were elaborated, plans for regulating the upper and middle courses of the river were made and examined, and phantastic sums of money figured out for the cost of the regulation and reclamation of the Vistula highway. But here all ambitions came to an end! The Polish Government never took any initiative in starting even one of the many projects. Especially since the strike of the English mine workers in 1926 and the boom in eastern Upper Silesian coal mining following this the Polish Government took a most enviable optimistic view in judging Poland's potential factors as a sea power. They showed

not the slightest consideration of the fact that Poland had, in case of need, 4,800 kilometres of land frontier to defend. Instead of pondering on that problem they were grasping with both hands and all their might at that narrow strip of coastline in the Danzig bay. In the Vistula, however, the great potential highway of Polish commerce, they took scarcely any interest whatever.

In view of this attitude of the Polish Government towards the problem of the Vistula as an inland water highway it did not exactly come as a surprise that the river deteriorated from year to year. The banks of the river began to collapse, the groynes which the Prussian Government had, barely thirty years ago, constructed with a great outlay of money gradually dilapidated and long stretches of dry land appeared in the middle of the river bed. Small wonder that traffic on the Vistula came to an ignominious end. Whereas, compared with this sad state of affairs, alone on that section of the Vistula which runs through Prussian territory and is controlled by the Prussian Government, 610,286 tons of cargo passed through the locks at Einlager in 1912, as stated above, this figure had fallen off in 1938 to a total of 453,851 tons of which 189,949 tons passed down-river and 263,902 tons up-river. Twenty years after setting up the Polish State traffic on the Vistula had fallen off by more than 25 per cent, as compared with pre-war figures. The fact that a nation of 35 millions does not ship more than a total of barely 40,000 tons at a monthly average on the Vistula to and from Danzig, clearly proves that within the twenty years of her existence as an independant state Poland was not seriously interested in making the Vistula the vital inland water highway on Polish territory. The Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, in his speech on May 5, 1939 thought fit to specially emphasize the importance of the Vistula as Poland's "principal waterhighway". This statement contrasts strangely with the fact that according to sober statistical figures it was the Polish Government who deprived the Vistula of all importance for Polish trade. It is the Polish Government themselves who give evidence that they do not intend to make considerable use of this access to the sea. On the other hand, it must be said that by the institution of the corridor and the serious negligence in the upkeep of the lower course of the Vistula, the importance of this waterway as a link between the system of inland waterways of East-Prussia and the rest of Germany, is greatly impaired. To no advantage for Poland, to the detriment of Germany . . . . those are the blessings of Versailles as far as the badly silted-up Vistula is concerned, that river which Col. Beck described to the world as Poland's "principal waterhighway".

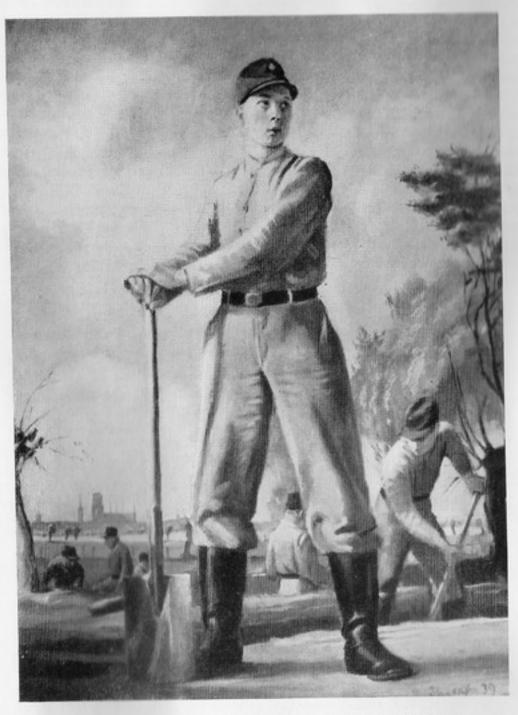


Painting by Dannowsky and Paetsch

#### Dangig is a German City

HERE is little to be said as regards German-Polish relations, Here too the Peace Treaty of Versailles-of course intentionally-inflicted a most severe wound on Germany. The strange way in which the Corridor giving Poland access to the sea, was marked out was meant above all to prevent for all time the establishment of an understanding between Poland and Germany. This problem is - as I have already stressed - perhaps the most painful of all problems for Germany. Nevertheless I have never ceased to uphold the view that the necessity of a free access to the sea for the Polish State cannot be ignored, and that as a general principal, valid for this case too, nations which Providence has destined or, if you like, condemned to live side by side would be well advised not to make life still harder for each other artificially and unnecessarily. The late Marshal Pilsudski, who was of the same opinion, was therefore prepared to go into the question of clarifying the atmosphere of German-Polish relations, and finally to conclude an Agreement whereby Germany and Poland expressed their intention of renouncing war altogether as a means of settling the questions which concerned them both. This Agreement contained one single exception which was in practice conceded to Poland. It was laid down that the pacts of mutual assistance already entered into by Poland-this applied to the pact with France-should not be affected by the Agreement. But it was obvious that this could apply only to the pact of mutual assistance already concluded beforehand, and not to whatever new pacts might be concluded in the future. It is a fact that the German-Polish Agreement resulted in a remarkable lessening of the European tension. Nevertheless there remained one open question between Germany and Poland, which sooner or later quite naturally had to be solved-the question of the German city of Danzig. Danzig is a German city and wishes to belong to Germany. On the other hand, this city has contracts with Poland, which were admittedly forced upon it by the dictators of the Peace of Versailles. But since moreover the League of Nations, formerly the greatest stirrer-up of trouble, is now represented by a High Commissioner-incidentally a man of extraordinary tact-the problem of Danzig must in any case come up for discussion, at the latest with the gradual extinction of this calamitous institution. I regarded the peaceful settlement of this problem as a further contribution to a final loosening of the European tension. For this loosening of the tension is assuredly not to be achieved through the agitations of insane warmongers, but through the removal of the real elements of danger. After the problem of Danzig had already been discussed several times some months ago, I made a concrete offer to the Polish Government. I now make this offer known to you, Gentlemen, and you yourselves will judge whether this offer did not represent the greatest imaginable concession in the interests of European peace. As I have already pointed out, I have always seen the necessity of an access to the sea for this country and have consequently taken this necessity into consideration. I am no democratic statesman, but a National-Socialist and a realist.

I considered it however necessary to make it clear to the Government in Warsaw that just as they desire access to the sea, so Germany needs access to her province in the East. Now these are all difficult problems. It is not Germany who is reponsible for them however, but rather the jugglers of Versailles, who either in their maliciousness or their thought-lessness placed a hundred powder barrels round about in Europe, all equipped with hardly extinguishable lighted fuses. These problems cannot be solved according to old-fashioned ideas; I think, rather, that we should adopt new methods. Poland's access to the sea by way of the Corridor, and on the other hand a German route through the Corridor have no kind of military importance whatsoever. Their importance is



DANZIG TODAY: LABOUR SERVICE AT WORK
Painting by Bruno Paetsch

exclusively psychological and economic. To accord military importance to a traffic route of this kind, would be to show oneself completely ignorant of military affairs. Consequently I have had the following proposal submitted to the Polish Government:

- Danzig returns as a Free State into the framework of the German Reich.
- 2. Germany receives a route through the Corridor and a railway line at her own disposal possessing the same extra-territorial status for Germany as the Corridor itself has for Poland. In return Germany is prepared:
  - 1. to recognize all Polish economic rights in Danzig.
- to ensure for Poland a Free Harbour in Danzig of any size desired which would have complete free access to the sea.
- to accept at the same time the present boundaries between Germany and Poland and to regard them as final.
- to conclude a 25 years non-aggression treaty with Poland, a treaty therefore which would extend far beyond the duration of my own life, and
- 5. to guarantee the independence of the Slovak State by Germany, Poland and Hungary jointly—which means in practice the renunciation of any unilateral German hegemony in this territory.

The Polish Government has rejected my offer and has only declared that it is prepared to: -

- negotiate concerning the question of a substitute for the Commissioner of the League of Nations and: —
  - 2. to consider facilities for the transit traffic through the Corridor.

I have regretted greatly this incomprehensible attitude of the Polish Government but that alone is not the decisive fact; the worst is that now Poland, like Czecho-Slovakia a year ago, believes, under the pressure of a lying international campaign, that it must call up troops, although Germany on her part has not called up a single man and had not thought of proceeding in any way against Poland. As I have said, this is in itself very regrettable and posterity will one day decide whether it was really right to refuse this suggestion made this once by me. This—as I have said—was an endeavour on my part to solve a question which intimately affects the German people by a truly unique compromise, and to solve it to the advantage of both countries. According to my conviction Poland was not a giving party in this solution at all but only a receiving party, because it should be beyond all doubt that Danzig will never become

Polish. The intention to attack on the part of Germany which was merely invented by the international press, led, as you know, to the so-called guarantee offer and to an obligation on the part of the Polish Government for mutual assistance, which would also, under certain circumstances, compel Poland to take military action against Germany in the event of a conflict between Germany and any other power and in which England, in her turn, would be involved. This obligation is contradictory to the agreement which I made with Marshal Pilsudski some time ago, seeing that in this agreement reference is made exclusively to existing obligations, that is to those at that time, namely to the obligations of Poland towards France of which we were aware. To extend these obligations subsequently is contrary to the terms of the German-Polish nonaggression pact. Under these circumstances I should not have entered into this pact at that time, because what sense can non-aggression pacts have if one partner in practice leaves open an enormous number of exceptions.

Either we have collective security, that is collective insecurity and continuous danger of war, or clear agreements which, however, exclude fundamentally any use of arms between the contracting parties. I therefore look upon the agreement which Marshal Pilsudski and I concluded at the time as having been unilaterally infringed by Poland and thereby no longer in existence!

I have sent a communication to this effect to the Polish Government. However, I can only repeat at this point that my decision does not constitute a modification of my attitude in principle with regard to the problems mentioned above. Should the Polish Government wish to come to fresh contractual arrangements governing its relations with Germany, I can but welcome such an idea, provided, of course, that these arrangements are based on an absolutely clear obligation binding both parties in equal measure. Germany is perfectly willing at any time to undertake such obligations and also to fulfil them.

Adolf Hitler, Führer and Chancellor April 28, 1939

## Illustrations

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